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Ab. J. Wheat, Louisville Ky

Of what is man but carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, sulphur, phosphorus, iron, and saline matter, with *mind* that fathoms the Universe, when of *fit mold*? The imprint of his *reason* is left on earth to other generations; his substance returns to *dust*! Though it be at the price of liberty; truth, through reason, shall rise from foggy sense, and bid man know his true estate. Proof of eternal liberty and freedom to the Caucasian, and of eternal slavery to the colored races, from God's order of creation, based on organic law. He who denies the order of creation, denies his being. Towards our fellow creatures our aim is high—friendship and protection. Seen, though *unseen*, no act escapes being weighed in the great amenities of life. Though *alone to think*, *thought* is cast for untold millions. To *know us*, let fall the *vain artifice* of *pomp and bigotry*, and bend to nature's law. Read, reason, and see, like of yore, "*veni, vidi, vici*."

THE
PROGRESS AND INTELLIGENCE
OF
AMERICANS;
COLLATERAL PROOF OF SLAVERY,
FROM THE FIRST TO THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS,
AS FOUNDED ON ORGANIC LAW;
AND FROM THE FACT OF CHRIST BEING A CAUCASIAN, OWING
TO HIS PECULIAR PARENTAGE;
PROGRESS OF SLAVERY SOUTH AND SOUTH-WEST,
WITH FREE LABOR ADVANCING, THROUGH THE ACQUISITION
OF TERRITORY;
ADVANTAGES ENUMERATED AND EXPLAINED.

SECOND EDITION.

BY M. T. WHEAT.

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TO THE
CONSTITUTIONAL MEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,
AND OF THE WORLD,

THIS WORK IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY
ITS AUTHOR, ASKING THEM ITS PROTECTION,
UNDER THE ÆGIS OF ETERNAL LIBERTY,
AND FREEDOM TO THE WHITE MAN.

Stereotyped in
Louisville, Ky.

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Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1862, by
M. T. WHEAT,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Kentucky.

PREFACE.

The development of truth through the physical sciences, discarding errors and misconceived notions, should be the paramount object of the naturalist. The philosophy of reasoning for the purpose of arriving at this truth, which is ever noble, ingenuous and magnanimous, is based on organic law, as to known effects of production, and on analogy, in citing what is constantly taking place around us. The world has ever been full of false theories and impracticabilities, and most of mankind base their judgments, upon which flow their actions, on the effects which surround them, without the mind or desire to trace matter back to the commencement of creation, and thence see its formation into evident classes for no other purpose intended by God than to produce matter again in resemblance to itself. Who will pretend to say that there was a unity in the grains, such as barley, wheat, corn, buckwheat, rye, and so on, with reference to those substances upon which man can live, at the commencement or moment of their creation from matter, which before was nothing but dust of the earth? In their respective creations, there was a *will* and *purpose* to implant in each an element to reproduce itself. This is the natural organic law pervading all inanimate creation, so far as we can judge by facts of cases presenting themselves to our understandings, from our constant intercourse with life, on each day's experience. Upon the same principle of reasoning, which is natural and organic, the author of this work draws his deductions and conclusions, with reference to the Races of Color—as the Mongolian, Indian, Malay and African, and also the white man—the Caucasian—not having derived their origins from one common parentage, and proves, by analogy in reasoning, and by citing examples of the present production of inanimate and animate life, that each of those races or existences of colors, and man had a separate existence from the beginning, according to the order of creation, as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis. The whole physiological feature of creation, whether inanimate or animate, that *have* arisen from matter, had their origins begun according to this order of creation; and so far back as history will trace inanimate matter in its production when it has not been acted upon by man or insects, we can discover no change. Barley, potatoes, corn, wheat, rye and oats, etc., etc., are the same now as four thousand years ago, and if four thousand years can produce no *organic change* in these, should man imagine at some very distant day, not recorded on the page of history, from its anteriority, that some great, unaccountable convulsions in nature took place in the organic law, which destroyed the similitude in the production of matter into inanimate and animate existence? and consequently, the formation of matter into specific classes as it now appears to us on earth? Beyond refutation, and as based on the organic law, deducible to us from the natural sciences, and reasoning by analogy, the author of this humble work feels that he has founded his deductions and conclusions, placing and proving the creation of the Colored Races as absolutely being under the head "living creature," of verse 24, of the first chapter of Genesis; consequently arises their priority in the creation to the white man, and consequently arises slavery as a Divine Institution, from the fact of "the man" being created according to the letter and spirit of verse 26 of the above chapter, and according to the imperative commands of God in the 28th verse of the same chapter, for the constitutional government of "the man and the female," on earth, as God's vicegerents! This

solemn and weighty trust is reserved to "the man and the female," the last touch of God in the consummation of *His* great work! Upon *these* rests the *dominion* of all matter, whether inanimate or animate below them; it is for them to control, and the sooner the perverted and wicked portion of mankind, who are now recognized as Abolitionists and Emancipationists, see their errors, their shortcomings, and misprisions, and make amends for the past and present revolutions in the general industrial pursuits of the country, which they have unquestionably created, so much the sooner we shall have peace upon the basis of God's organic law. Proving rebellion against *this law*, organized by those fanatics, the author endeavors to clearly and forcibly prove, and show them to be rebels and atheists against Law, Constitutional and Divine. Consequently, he asks the question, "How they are to be bound and held accountable by any form of oath?" Having spoken and dwelt in the first and second part of his work upon the progress and intelligence of Americans, connected with the discussion of Constitutional *law* and liberty, and the proof of slavery from the order of creation, as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, the author, in the third part of his work, from an extensive experience in slave States, and a general knowledge of tropical America, advocates progressive slavery South and Southwest, as we may acquire territory. This he clearly proves to be of incalculable advantage to the free States, and no less, but as advantageous to the slave States, from the fact that the African slaves are better adapted to labor in the tropics. In this march, free labor will follow in the wake of slave labor, with the lands having been cleared up and drained. The author contends that this system of progress into tropical America will vastly benefit the whole Caucasian family throughout the world, making the livelihood of *existences of colors certain*, not dependent on chance, stealth and robbery! In this form, the greatest scope of philanthropy conceivable to man can be meted out for the benefit and advantages of all concerned, when slave labor shall have progressed, and have fully and conclusively established itself in tropical America, and moreover, in tropical Africa, under the guidance and control of the great Caucasian family. That such will be the result of coming time, in view of "subduing the earth," and of making it fully productive to its utmost capacity, in the low as well as in the high lands, no penetrating philosophical mind can raise a doubt. For the tropics must be cultivated, in order to carry out the order of creation, verse 28th, first chapter of Genesis.

In view of the organic law, upon which the philosophy of reason respecting this work is based, the preface is, as also the body of the work, ready for the scalpel of the Abolitionist's and the Emancipationist's ingenuity to *dissect*, and, if possible, *excoriate* the course of nature, and *institute* in its place their *assumed notions* of right, in contradistinction to her principles in everything we see, with reference to the Colored Races, if they *dare* persist in opposing the order of creation. The pleadings of the author are not for one section of the earth, but they are as enlarged as its surface; they know no bounds but infinite space; they are the great efforts towards benefitting, moralizing and instructing the subordinate and inferior existences of colors in the grand workhouse of physical and mental improvement; and this, aside from the *injunction*, as to *having dominion* without *choice*, is the only efficient means in the form of forcible and constant contact of the Colored Races with the Caucasian, that we can hope, from the designs of God in the creation, for progress and improvement in the tropics of the earth.

THE AUTHOR.

PROGRESS, SLAVERY, AND ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY.

PART I.

PROGRESS AND INTELLIGENCE OF AMERICANS.

As for ourselves in this dissertation, we would only that we may be a happy medium to our countrymen to point out facts, which will strike home to reason and common sense—it is our country, all the States and vast domain we wish to speak of, as it was the custom with patriots in Grecian times. Since the dawn of our national existence to within nearly two years past, our country has been most carefully guarded by an all-ruling Power; and prosperity, peace, and happiness have lit up a howling wilderness, and dotted its wild wastes with smiling habitations.

Reflect upon our early settlements along the Atlantic, as Georgia then was the furthest South, and the Mississippi river the western boundary; while now, with giant-like strides, our country rests on the

Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific. There is, at this moment, one pulse that beats in harmony from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which announces daily news on either shore.

Since the Revolution, how numerous and sublimely wonderful have been the rapid strides in the advancement and improvement of the arts and sciences! So much so, that genius culls with peculiar fastidiousness what she presents to the thoughtful consideration of man.

From the machinery adapted to the making of the pin or the needle to that of the powerful engine, that, leviathan-like, plows the mighty ocean, we see, everywhere about us, evidences of their workings and practical utility in the numerous good and faithful offices which they multiply and distribute for the advancement and happiness of man.

By the means of powerful telescopes we seem to pay our respects to other worlds, and are enabled to calculate with precision the rotary planets revolving about us, and to examine with more minuteness the starry canopy, which involve unnumbered worlds.

By chemistry, we are enabled to analyze the soils, and report what is lacking for certain kinds of vegetation; and by this means we can supply the defects, and enhance very materially our prosperity and happiness.

By geology, we gain a knowledge of the structure of the earth, and the great mutations which have, and are going on, tracing the different formations of the earth through the lapse of past ages. By mineralogy, we obtain a knowledge of the different classes

of minerals, and more or less a knowledge of their formation into bodies, each having an affinity for itself. By botany, we arrive at a distinct knowledge of the vegetable kingdom, dividing it into classes or families, each having a resemblance and an affinity for its peculiar kind, as generated from a class. By the study of zoology, we discover the divisions of the animal kingdom into classes, through the aid of physiology, physiognomy, ethnology and anatomy, with the power of each to generate its kind. And no less in art than in science, are we, the Caucasians, rising from *dust* to fill that great destiny ordered in the creation of man, in the image and after the likeness of his Creator.

The abundant supply of iron in the different States keeps pace with the accustomed wants of our great national family, adding a cementing link by iron bands from one State to another, thus forming a network of rails and telegraph wires, on which the *iron horse* and the electric fluid pace away, as if by the flight of the imagination; moreover, adding a barrier against the attacks of foreign enemies, in the way of iron clad war steamers!

Most of the metals used for embellishment, and as a circulating medium, are now found in the present bounds of the United States to exist most abundantly; more especially in California, Oregon and New Mexico. Since the discovery of gold in California, not short of one billion of dollars has been exported from the Pacific coast of the United States, giving stability to the financial and commercial transactions of the world.

These Pacific gold mines have surely formed the golden era of our Republic, and increased our commerce on the Pacific, at least one thousand per cent., with the Oceanicans and neighboring Republics. To speak within bounds, no one well acquainted with the natural fecundity of the valley and mountain soils of our possessions on the Pacific, and adjacent thereto, can question, but that these regions have the *productive amplitude* to yield grains sufficient to bread the vast *multitudes* within our *ocean-bounded Empire!*

Since the dawn of our national existence, so rapid have been the steps in the march of the arts and sciences, and in all that is grand and ennobling, and so wide-spread has our commerce become, that wherever we cast our eyes and tread a foreign soil, we see Americans representing their home industry and products, even in the interior of benighted Africa and Pagan-ridden Asia.

The establishments of learning throughout the United States, with the simplification of books adapted to youth, have both received the fostering attention of private individuals and the States, in the form of artistic arrangements to promote health and contentment, and of donations of lands to defray the expenses of tuition. Our common school system of education, based in part on State donations and direct taxation, forces the whole body politic to feel their mutual dependence on each other, which educates and defends the State.

No one can doubt but that *man*, by his nature, is a peculiar *being*, presenting a wonderful combination of intellect and the lowest animal propensities. His

mind soars to heaven, and calculates the planetary system of worlds, and holds lightning within his reach, as if playing with a feather, demanding converse with other worlds, borne down to this. By his nature he is social, yet the stronger oppress the weaker, enslave them, and tax their virtues. And when wealth and power are obtained, they are not unfrequently used to exert an undue and an *unholy influence*, as in the case of Church and State. Animals are divided into two classes—those exercising reasoning powers and those seemingly void of them, except so far as relates to their appetites and passions. The second class are composed of all that animal existence which walk on the earth on all fours, of whatever shape, or dart through the waters, or skim the air with graceful evolutions, presenting to the critical observer links of peculiar assimilations, in their organic forms, till this class assume the shape and partial facial contour of the first class, yet *reason* in them is not apparent from the *analogy* which they bear to the former, the whites, in whom we see, in a greater or less degree, the height of *reason* displayed.

In this class we see the gradation of animals rising to the forms of the human species among the different kinds of apes, which are spoken of in works on natural history, as Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, Cuvier's works on the same subject, the *Vestiges of Creation*, *Types of Mankind*, and *Indigenous Races of Mankind*, by authors of a more recent date.

The native of New Holland may be a grade higher than the nondescript of Barnum's found in the forests of Africa; this has never been taught to speak,

but it grunts out the impulses of its nature in a guttural manner. It may be a link higher than the gorilla; however, its head and body are ape-shaped, and indicate its peculiar lower animal organization. in the length of its *arms* and *fingers*, the flatness of its nose, the bigness of its nostrils, the projection of its forehead backwards, fully at an angle of forty-five degrees, the *broadness* of the *head* from ear to ear, the *smallness* of the body just above the *hips*, the negro-shaped eye, its somewhat ape-shaped foot, and lack of hair. It can walk on *all fours* nearly as well as erect.

By the study of natural history, we discover that, in the higher order of apes arranged with reference to size, their brains would appear related to man as follows, to-wit: the gorilla, chimpanzee, orang outang, mbouve and gibbon. In their habits, mode of living, the food eaten by them, their attack and defence, they quite assimilate themselves to the natives of New Holland, perhaps the lowest of the black races!

By this *study*; by *travels* into foreign lands, either by private parties, or *expeditions* fitted out by Governments; by our frequent *intercourse* with man; it is natural to draw conclusions with respect to the *subordinate* and inferior existences of color and the human family, and the *distinctions* which *colors* make respecting progress in the advancement of the arts and sciences.

The term subordinate, and inferior existences of colors, possessing degrees of humanity, (the peculiar nature of man, by which he is distinguished from the other beings,) comprehends that order under the head of "living creature" in the 24th verse of the first

chapter of Genesis, and defines their degrees of approximating humanity, which is as they come in contact with the white race, becoming thereby molded like them, and as they have manifested natural capacities as a whole or alone, to intelligence; and inasmuch as they physically resemble man, as hereafter proved.

Humanity *alone* could not belong to them, for it is an attribute of man alone created in the image and after the likeness of God; but a degree of it is their due, *inasmuch* as they resemble the white man, for in so much they are *accountable*, and no more. Else the savage negro in Africa be *human*, and if *so*, he is, as we are, accountable for the full term humanity, *without* our *light* being *imparted* to him, as he would not *need* it; but he would be like us, full of *light*, and hence *humanity*. As there is a vast *difference* in the *mental* and physical organization of the progressive existences of colors and man, as we shall hereafter prove, so there *is* in *humanity*; hence a *difference* in *humanity*, or a *degree* of *humanity*, is not *humanity itself*; therefore, they cannot bear fully the term *human*, but *intermediate-human*. In the researches of Dr. Pritchard, we discover that he contends all existences of colors, including the Mongolian, Indian, Malay and African, originated from the common term—*homo, man*. And we, in our daily conversation, find many would-be intelligent ladies and gentlemen favor this position, as if their reason had *ascended its throne*. These very good people forget that God created everything into distinct classes; hence rye, corn, wheat, oats and barley, are classes respectively, re-

garding each, its origin in the same manner as Caucasian, Mongolian, Indian, Malay and African, are classes respectively, respecting each, his origin. Under the organic law, when all matter was chaos, these respective classes were called into existence, and received each his organized form, by which he *should* perpetuate his *class*, as ordered in the beginning; or we should discover nothing but chance work in creation.

The immortality of the soul, whether it be that of a white man, or that of any of the existences of colors is not a subject which this work is called on to discuss; but the main object of this work is to trace inanimate and animate matter back to its original state, and thence see the order of creation, and how each part is to be governed by natural law, which furnishes the basis for civil or conventional law.

In casting our eyes over the Indian tribes of America, we are unable, at present, to see any material change towards a high stage of social and constitutional liberty; nor do we discern it in their arts and sciences, over what they possessed at the period of their discovery to us; nor do we trace but a retrocession among those European nations who have largely commingled with the aborigines of this country. This class of progressive existences fall to dust, when in contact with the whites, as the autumn leaves, after the first withering frost. They are fast passing away.

In taking a survey of the oriental nations of Asia, we discover that few of the arts and sciences, which so much distinguish the Europeans and Americans,

are understood by them; or otherwise, from their countless hosts, they would be able to repel the attacks of the combined world. Their wants are supplied without adding a finish to *symmetrical proportions*. They want *courage, energy and mind*; and when brought in close contact with the whites, they are forced, like the Indians, to yield to superior *intellect*, and like their *congeneries* of colors, they must fall to earth, though the contest be strong, and full of little incidents of a progressive nature.

The historic pages of Africa are few and meager, except with respect to its northern portions, where the whites have prevailed. That here, great events and great nations have arisen, no one will question; as the Egyptians and Carthagenians, in their past history, can fully bear proof. Few have explored Central Africa, though quite enough to bear testimony to the general barbarism of the country; however, to a small extent, they manufacture some common cloth out of the agave and cotton grown in the country.

From time immemorial to the present the negro class have commingled more or less with those white nations near them; so much so, if their natures had been open to the reception of new ideas, retaining and rendering them useful, they would have distinguished themselves by their arts and sciences, by their governments, and by that universal progress which nations make in the pursuits of commerce. In all these occupations and progressions which the mind of *man* makes, when raised from matter, the negro class bear no testimony to the world; for where are

their ambassadors, commercial agents and commercial relations with other nations? That they are above some classes of animals we have abundant proof, but that they are far below mankind, even the Toltees, Aztecs, and Peruvians of America, no one can question. As a further evidence in confirmation of this position, when we survey the labors and workings of the lower and lowest classes of animals, what is the progress of those which we see around us, over those which lived thousands of years ago? Their habits of gathering their food, building their nests, seeking places of safety for their young, defending themselves against attacks, and all they do, are the same when young as old, and the same in one age as in the preceding. In these animals there is no progress nor advancement; they are content with eating, drinking, sleeping, and giving vent to the passions of their natures. In view of this, survey the history of the negro class in Africa, and what has been their progress from their earliest existence to the present, except such as has been absolutely forced on them, to shield themselves from cold, or to supply their hunger? Consequently, like other *animals*, they can be taught, or learn to do like the whites only to a certain extent, when their reason ceases, and animal instinct manifests itself again. For ages in Africa, the negroes have lived only to *eat*. Their progress and developments are only made by contact with the whites! That there is a distinction in the progressive development of the negro class, especially when brought in contact with the whites, compared to those who have never been out of their native coun-

try, we have ample proof in the slaveholding States of North America, in the provinces or departments of Brazil and Cuba, where slavery has existed nearly, and over three hundred years; and in other portions of America where they are now free; for full demonstrations we have of such in their whole facial contours over new importations.

They bear in all their actions a higher degree of advancement than those freshly imported into this country; and particularly so with reference to their facial contours and their general physical developments. If prior to this period, the destiny of the African negroes had been to have possessed the arts and sciences, so near them on the Eastern portion of that Division; if they had not been created in the scale of existence but little above the highest class of apes, showing thereby a close analogy between the two; if it had not been the custom for the Rulers of Central Africa to have immolated some of their captives, after taking them in wars, upon bonafires for the occasion; eaten a few, and enslaved others; and if there had been *humanity* to have exerted itself in that benighted land, as in portions of benighted Europe, America would have shrunk from her task to have *imported, christainized and educated*, in the labors of the field, so many *forms* without *human love*.

From the numerous negroes existing in Central Africa, their obedience, slothfulness, or almost perfect inertia, except stimulated by the cravings of hunger, and from their peculiar bestial adaptation to obey the dictates of superior intelligence and superior will, not only in that region, but on the Continent

of America, we are led to infer that they have no national characteristics; and in order to insure their progression to the higher scale of being, their *thralldom* must be continued to work out and reclaim, from the wild solitudes of America, that natural fecundity which she so superabundantly possesses, rendering it useful to man in the many multiplied stages of human advancement and refinement.

In most cases, the tenure of slavery on the Continent of America is growing milder, and much more lenient than formerly; masters are seldom accused of cruelty:—it is unpopular for one to be thus accused, and consequently much forbearance is brought into requisition, from the desire to gain the applause of our own people, where this institution exists.

If slavery be right to work out the destiny of this vast American Continent, as it would seem to be from surrounding manifestations which are apparent to all, the only true position we can assume, is that slavery can never exist in a *statu quo state*; the only terms to be applied to it, are pro and anti; the one will let it live by its *progress*, and increase the Southern products in proportion to the increase of slaves, and the fertility of the lands they cultivate; while the latter, though not in favor of *immediate emancipation*, would so circumscribe it by *legislation*, and limit the bounds of slavery, as to call for the *manumission* of the African race in the present limits of the United States, because the multiplicity of its numbers in the course of time, would permit no other *alternative*, taking in view the natural increase of the whites and the blacks.

Some pretend to say that the African can change his color, by living in the temperate regions of the world, and that he is capable of a high mental culture, neither of which untenable positions do we see hold good among the thousands with whom we come in contact. If the black class desired so much the advancement of their kind, and having been brought so long in contact with intelligence, from their earliest days in a state of freedom, and if it was as natural for the negro to progress as the white man, why is there such a marked difference in the free States among *colors*, where one rises, from the cradle, to high civilization and enlightenment, astonishing the world by the genius which he displays in every object he touches,—whereas the former is content to *imitate* him in a few of the most *primitive* of the *arts* of *mechanism*! Is this *position* not beyond refutation? If God had designed the negro race for a free people and a high state of civilization, as he had the whites, and if he had not made them to work out a *great destiny* within the tropics of the Globe, where they are so *peculiarly adapted* by their unique and natural *organizations*, to reclaim the wilds of gigantic forests, why would this race have been formed unalterably as they are in shape of body, head, lips, eyes, color, and of all that distinguishes the progressive existences of colors from *man*, if it was not intended, that there should not be mixtures of colors?

If our destiny had been alike, it would have been as easy to have had all existences of colors like the white race, or the white race like them, and our Great Prototype; and yet there are a few enthusiasts who

will argue that the negro or the colored existences are created after the Image of the Creator; for they affirm this to be the fact of all the races. In this there seems to be a palpable contradiction, for it is irreconcilable with natural *philosophy*, to suppose for a moment, that two *colors*, distinct in their natures and organizations, could be created after the Image of One Being, for this being must have had color, as well as other natural characteristics, or he was not nor is a *being*; and hence we would infer that, speaking technically, philosophically and phrenologically, there could have been but one race of man created after the Image of the Creator, and that all others were created subordinate to him, filling intermediate positions between him and the lower scale of animated nature. Every thing, and every creature of a *class* we see, are full of *proofs*, as indicating distinct colors and separate organizations, from the lowest creeping plant, to Him, who has proved himself of all others, to be created after the Image of his Creator.

In the organization of the planets and stars in the Firmament, there was no *chance* work;—there was *design* with reference to weight, quantity of matter, kind of matter, momentum, attraction and repulsion; or otherwise, how long could they have revolved within their orbits, without deviation to the right or the left? and how long could they have endured collision without having been dashed to atoms? In all this we see *perfection* in their design and finish; and how much like this characterized *perfection* in the firmament above, is the *Genius* of the white race displaying itself in all of its artistic and scientific ad-

vancements ! Behold our factories of all kinds where machinery is used, and what do we see but *design* and *perfection* in the rotary or longitudinal direction of those *bodies* which seem to reason from cause to effect, and from effect to cause ! In all this, a Wise Providence has indicated the Race created after the Image of *Him*, our Creator !

If, then, the colored races were not created after the Image of the Creator, but for subordinate works in the scale of progress, assuming their relative positions, why should we hesitate to use them, according to that evident intent by the indications and marks fastened upon them ? In descending to the lower scale of animated nature, and examining their habits and customs, especially those of the bee and the pismire, we see in them marks of *design*, and a conceded power, in one of their kind, to direct them towards obtaining their subsistence, and the performance of required labor. This may be slavery, yet it is evident that this course with them is *natural* ; otherwise the many would destroy the few rulers, and each one would act for himself, as in the *higher* scale of *creation*. In this illustration of animated nature, we see thought and reason displayed in the division of labor, yet we see these *little armies obeying* their high officials, as in the still higher existence of brute, or human nature.

We see that labor is necessary, in order to act, and provide for our being and advancement ; and if we are created after the Image of our Creator, with full reason and thought, and as we believe that there is only one great class of the human family, that is so created ;—our province then is to rule the earth, and

to elicit its products by labor. We are held accountable for our *intelligence* to be directed reasonably, to *subdue* the earth, that is, all that which contravenes its productiveness and well-being. Consequently, every *thing*, and *existence* of an animated nature, having serviceable *qualities*, cannot escape our attention, either in animals or progressive existences of colors, nearing humanity.

The day may not be distant, when the *Ape tribes*, now so useless to man in his progressive state, will be taught some useful avocation;—such as the picking of cotton and the like occupations, of which they are fully susceptible by *imitation*. And *if* this should ever take place in the progress of labor within the tropics, by their being *caught*, *reclaimed* from their wild state, and *taught* to labor in the fields, like *those* who are a *scale higher*, or *those* a scale lower in animated nature,—what *humanist*, contending that all *races* are created after the Image of our Creator, will then say, if the apes should learn to *speak*, that they should, therefore, be set *free* and should be *placed* on an *equality* with the *whites*, as they indicate somewhat of a *human form* and *intelligence*, so far as relates to the *performance* of labor!

This may be taken as though we were humorists; we are not; we speak of things and animated nature as they appear to our consideration, with the endeavor to render plants and animated nature useful to man, and man grateful to his Creator! This can be done by none so fully, as by those who *study nature's laws*. In the discovery of the Continent of America, reason of the highest order was fully dis-

played, especially when it contemplated another division of the Globe, as *requisite* to counterbalance what was then known of the rotundity of the earth, and of its gravitation.

Therefore, since the settlement of this Western Continent, we have ever seen it used as the *cradle* of *towering genius*, and of innovations upon old and established customs. Here, the *mind dares* to act, to think, invent, and display itself in the *full enlargement* begot by its contemplation of surrounding objects, vast plains and forests, with lofty mountains, majestic rivers, and ocean-like lakes. It copies after the creation! In search of laborers to fell the forests of America, the natives nor the white exotics, being equal to the task, the thralldom of Africa was transferred to this continent; and the profits of black labor, with the ability of the negroes to endure the climate of the tropics, were soon made obvious, and their increase by importation was not, in those days, a question of *ethics* among the European nations; nor has it become so, till a *superabundance* of white labor has surfeited Europe, making governments *there look* out for homes for those of the same color.

In the early settlement of the English colonies of North America, we discover a hardy and venturesome set of pioneers, who made *little advancement* till slavery was introduced at Jamestown, Virginia. The forests then began to give way; the soil reimbursed the husbandman; and an *American character* began to enlarge itself. Their growth was so rapid, their lands so rich and extensive, their spirits so emboldened by prosperity and intelligence, and an enlarged

mode of thinking and acting, that in one hundred and fifty-five years from 1620, England was fearful of her young America; she sought to subdue the colonies; they were unconquerable; they demanded their independence to be acknowledged by her, and it was in the year 1783 in the form of separate *colonies*, or *states*. The object of confederation between the Colonies for mutual defence against their common enemy was now over, and they turned their considerations to self-government. Their trials and privations had been severe; an ordeal they had passed through, to fit them for *nobler acts*. The articles of confederation between the Colonies became obligatory in March, 1781, a draft of which was brought to the notice of Congress as early as the 12th of July, 1776; a period of near five years required to elapse, ere this first important step was taken, to *feel*, at home and abroad, the force and the *characteristics* of a *nation*!

Long before the colonies of North America had severed their relations from the British empire, in all their *organic acts* and *characteristics* with reference to each other, they were wholly sovereign, acknowledging allegiance only to their mother and father land. Up to within eleven years of the Declaration of Independence, they were political bodies, ever jealous of the favors and exclusive privileges which their parent land should confer on one at the expense of the others. With reference to each other, they were distinct nationalities, unharmonious and exacting in their natures, as were the motives which induced them to leave their native lands. The plea of perse-

cution, the love of novelty natural to our being, and the spirit of adventure, shortly after the discovery of America, effectively and naturally contributed to turn the minds of Europeans to new regions where disappointed ambition and broken down fortunes might begin anew the tussle of life. Here the red man of the forest held dominion and sway, and was lord of this new continent, before whom all else bowed and supplied his wants. The rights, natural to existences of colors in a *barbarous* state, though of a different hue, were then as now considered by white nations as secondary, and to be dealt with as the whims and caprices of those coming in contact should deem fit to administer.

The right of granting the lands of the wild Indian, by the crowned heads of Europe, to companies for the purpose of settlement, was never *considered* by the Indians till settlers had arrived; possession was then taken by an ostentatious *display* of the efficacy of gunpowder; and in some cases, an apparent, yet a reluctant right was forced from the native rulers to settle upon their lands, and yet this arbitrary right was acquiesced in, by the most conscientious of those days, in the same manner as the right of trade is now forced, by *superior* genius, upon most of the Asiatic nations. To the most conscientious and just of all mankind in the fullness of thought and reason, we would ask, what difference there is between taking a nation's means and the free volition of their actions away, with respect solely to themselves, and the enforcement of involuntary service upon them? in neither of which acts do the natives of their respect-

ive countries co-operate with their own free will! Is there any difference for the better between these acts of organic, or despotic power, and negro slavery? as in the former or Indian cases, the wants of the natives were not provided for, and famine has ensued, and contagious pestilence has walked among them, fanned by the breeze of civilization and enlightenment; whereas, in the latter or negro cases, their number has increased most rapidly, even when they perform the most onerous labors of the field, and in the same ratio is their intelligence increased, compared with that of fresh importations. In the former case, death to the Indian nation, and to the natives, ensues, laying waste the *proud ancestors* of the soil, whose bones whiten and enrich the lands, now inhabited by the white man, where they walked monarchs of all they surveyed! In the latter case, more than was expected is being realized. The negro, in a state of slavery, stands the contact of the white man, and is emerging from darkness to light, in the form of civilization.

The motives which led our forefathers to this continent obscured all *honest intent* with reference to *native rights*, little questioning the hopeless and helpless condition they were entailing upon the aborigines. Tribe after tribe have withered away like the leaves of autumn, as the whites are marching westward! And have not their spirits gone to their Creator, to tell the woes of early colonial tales? where unjust and unholy wars have been forced upon them by the *designing*, to obtain more *Indian lands*! This forcible *purchase* of Indian territory, or its *conquest* under divine right, or that of *superior power and intelligence*,

cannot be reconciled upon any other principles of *metaphysics* or *natural law*, than by *fully acknowledging* that the *white man* is made after the image of his Creator, and consequently, has an *exclusive heritage* of the earth, and of all inanimate and animate matter, where his natural rights are considered, and conflict with the existences of colors. Notwithstanding the unconventional manner of our forefathers acquiring lands of the natives, and of importing and holding slaves since the year 1620, Providence has smiled upon us; and by superior wisdom and voluntary concession, our ancestors formed a constitution on broad and liberal principles, with *equal rights* guaranteed to the *citizens* of *States*, and to each State, which, without a parallel in history, has elicited the applause and admiration of mankind! The sages that bore us through the Revolution felt *keenly* the want of this safeguard in 1786, and more especially in 1787, when an insurrection took place in the State of Massachusetts, called Shay's rebellion. On the second Monday in May, 1787, delegates from twelve of the States assembled in Philadelphia, to deliberate with reference to a more stable form of self-government; Rhode Island refusing to act in concert. The deliberations continued till the 17th of September, when the present Constitution was adopted by the Convention; and by degrees it was adopted in eleven of the States, by the people acting in their several and sovereign capacities—one-third of which number adopting it the same year, and the others in the spring and summer of the following year; except North Carolina in November, 1789, and Rhode Island in May, 1790.

The present Constitution, the paladium of the liberties of the American people, was matured after a *deliberation* of some over four months; however, by those *lights*, who had had, for a long time in view, the spirit of a free and prosperous nation portrayed to them, by the contemplation of the vast empire before them! This contemplation made them think of *nature* and *her works*, and the *harmony* displayed in all her doings. It was conceived, molded, and formed after the order of creation, and hence, becomes a guide for our government and progress! It was formed upon the spirit of respecting thy neighbor's rights as thou wouldst have thy neighbor respect thine. In each of the States or Colonies the right of choosing slavery or not was never questioned; hence, in the early settlement of North America, slavery was a question of expediency, not of ethics, and it had been sanctioned by the usages and customs of the Colonies as an exclusive *right*, as when a man raises his hand, the *volition* in doing so is his own, and this is natural law and right. This right, with reference to the Colonies, had existed one hundred and sixty-eight years before the adoption of the *Constitution*, which surrendered no rights of the Colonies, but *those fully expressed* as being their *intentions* to yield up to the General Government. Under the sanction of the British Parliament; the acts of the Colonies; and by international and commercial regulations; the negroes of Africa were extensively imported into America, to supply the demand for labor, in the several colonies settled by *different nations*. Hence, each colony had the exclusive privilege of

regulating the institution of slavery as it saw fit, with slight exceptions, with reference to the Spanish and Portuguese possessions, where it was more of a national institution.

Wars upon the coast of Central Africa were, and have been common ever since the earliest history which gives us any account of its natives; and the captives were, and have been sacrificed to appease their war god, or held in bondage by the victors. Hence, we see, at the present day, most of Africa in a feudal condition, which yet holds comparatively and physically good of Europe, notwithstanding their boast of the freedom which the *rulers* alone enjoy; for all their laws go to grant *franchises* to the rich in exclusion of the poor, and this begets *poverty* and *dependence* for a mere *subsistence*, scarcely the cravings of hunger being satisfied. This will also hold good of Asia, especially in India and China, where a scant allowance is given to the laborers, with scarcely any meat, except fish. Here are enslaved races of existences, similar to their masters; however, England has enslaved one hundred and fifty millions of Indians in the East by *imposing* a taxation upon them, absolutely foreign to natural laws and rights, as *considered* by *some*; yet, according to her schooled and presumed philanthropy, she dares boast of her political freedom!

The present pro-slavery principles of the British Government are foreshadowed by a London correspondent of the New York Post, a Republican, showing how inconsistent that government was in emancipating her slaves in the West Indies, acting in direct

opposition to Organic Law, while now the press of the nation countenance that Divine Law! and hence slavery as being a Divine Institution! Most usually the Press represent the pulse of the Nation, and if it is divided on great national matters, we have only to enumerate and consider the quantity, weight and importance of the Press, in order to form just conclusions as to the predilections of the people. Witness the change of the English people since 1830, 1838, and 1860, with reference to slavery, when now the golden morsel is withheld from their empty platters. This brings nations back to Organic Law, with reference to the Institution of Slavery, while fanaticism is wasting away! for it will not feed the body!

The article is as follows:

THE PRESS OF GREAT BRITAIN—ITS HOSTILITY TO
THE NORTH.

[From the London Correspondent of the New York Post, Republican.]

“Meanwhile I admit freely that the absence of sympathy for the North is almost universal in England. As I stated in a former letter, it is a great mistake made by many of your papers, the New York *Herald* in chief, to assume that the hostility to the North is a purely aristocratic one. If you want a proof of this, just look at the London press. The press of London is the press of England, to an extent which may seem strange to a foreigner. The provincial press only repeats the opinions of the London papers, with less vigor and originality; and it used often to amuse us in the States to see the opinions of provincial papers, such as the Manchester *Ex-*

aminer, the *Scotsman*, or the Liverpool *Albion* quoted as representative opinions of the British public. The London press on the whole represents English opinion very fairly. It is worth while, therefore, to state strictly what the views of the chief London papers are about the North. The *Times*, as you all know, is growing day by day more Southern in tone. And the *Times* represents the mercantile and commercial community. The *Morning Herald* and *Standard* are the organs of the conservative middle classes, and what their opinion is may be shown from the fact that they publish constantly the mad ravings of some correspondent who dates his letters from New York, and signs himself "Manhattan," with the avowed object of discrediting the North by such advocacy as his. Mr. Russell, let me say in passing, has, I believe, nothing to do with the anti-northern tone of the *Times*. His weekly articles in his own paper, the *Army and Navy Gazette*, on the progress of the American war, are very fair and favorable, though not friendly to the North. The *Morning Post*, the fashionable paper *par excellence*, is bitterly Southern in tone, and indulges in such violent vituperation of the North as its general feebleness will permit of. The *Daily Telegraph*, the great popular paper, whose circulation is double that of the *Times*, and which in every other point is staunchly liberal, is also against the North. Probably the well known connection in former years of one of its writers with the Buchanan Administration may account for this. The *Morning Advertiser*, the great Protestant organ of the London licensed victuallers, the tap-room paper, as it is called,

is on the same side, though with less vigor, and *Lloyd's Journal*, the *Weekly Times*, the *Sunday Times*, the *Penny Newsman*, and all the cheap Sunday journals, which are ultra radical in politics, and which you never see by chance in any well to do household, are as anti-northern in tone as their aristocratic contemporaries of the high class weekly papers. The *Saturday Review*, the organ of the Universities; the *Examiner*, the organ of the old Whigs of the Brougham and Sidney Smith school, and the *Press*, the organ of Mr. D'Israeli, for once agree in their opposition to the North.

The papers friendly to the North are few in number. The *Morning Star*, which belongs to Mr. Bright, is the staunchest supporter of the North. Unfortunately, it shares in Mr. Bright's defect of never knowing when to stop, and the indiscriminate thick and thin character of its advocacy seriously damages its value. The *Daily News*, is, to my mind, the most reliable of the Freesoil advocates. Its connection with Miss Martineau gives it a little too much of a "doctrinaire" tone, but its honesty and ability give it a weight quite disproportionate to the extent of its circulation. The *Spectator*, which is just rising rapidly into importance as the representative of the liberal educated class, is also strongly Northern in its tone. Let me add, for the credit of the *Athenaeum*, and of its editor, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, that, though it rarely touches on political subjects, it has frequently spoken out fairly on the American question at some risk to its own popularity. On the whole, then, there is no good in shutting one's eyes to the fact that the Lon-

don press is unfavorable to the North ; and the London press, taken as a whole, represents every class of public opinion in England."

Governments, for the most part, are composed of fragments of nations, or small tribes, with one Ruler and his noble adherents ; and all others, and those who oppose him, are held as his *vassals*, or *slaves* in plain English ; or *they*, in other words, are composed of a majority of men of wealth and in power, who establish their *tenets* by *force of arms*. In this case, it is wealth combined which governs the majorities ; for these are *poor*, must *live*, must *work*, must *bear arms*, as the *occasions* and *tempests* may arise among nations, or with a *nation against itself* !

Slavery is more perceptible in old countries among races of the same origin ; though we are fully impressed that this position will hold good among the most of nations, either barbarous or civilized, of whom we have any account. In Europe and Asia, the difficulty of emigration to new fields of labor and settlement is increased in proportion to the ratio of population ; for when this is dense, labor is cheap, and can be had at the valuation of the rich, who monopolize the lands, trades and commerce, obtaining labor at a price too low to admit of the poor rising in the scale of being. *Some will say* that this is not *slavery*. It is *conventional slavery*, sanctioned by the rich in power, and how can a poor man with a family rise and depart to a new field of labor ? Admitting the man is not sold, he must labor for what he can get or starve ! The older the country, the more we see of this, and laws passed at the expense of the

poor, to favor commerce and artistic skill in exclusion of common labor. In taking a survey of the world, whose senses are so befoged as to be unable to see this? and yet mankind are governed by a few, who do the thinking, and who cause a nation to rise or fall! This is most amply illustrated on *whatever side we turn our eyes*, at present, for light on this subject. The American system of slavery, as it exists in the United States, has many peculiar characteristics, which are little understood outside of the States where it prevails. That the negro is an inferior being to the white man, no one will doubt, from his naturally coarse organizations, which, to the unthoughtful and unreasoning, rarely present themselves in full consideration, when contrasting his features with those of the latter.

Nature, not *art*, has made this distinction, and we feel its influence *insensibly creeping* over us, and the *superiority* of our natural intellectual faculties, in whatever condition of life we meet with the colored races, making no *difference* whether he be African, Malay, Indian, or Mongolian. This distinction we feel more *sensibly* when we contrast their progress in the advancement of the arts and sciences with our own; though *color* and *shape break that which otherwise would be affinity!* If they were created contemporaneously with ourselves, some have made but little use of their understandings *to advance* themselves in the scale of being above the brutes, while others receive their material worth from coming in contact with the whites, in the way of performing servile labor; yet, as we shall prove, they were created be-

fore us. With reference to the different *grades* of white men of intelligence spread over a vast country, where the soils, the climate and productions are different, we see, in each section, that the leading men of intelligence and influence endeavor to so arrange their laws as to produce the greatest good to the greatest number of individuals where *each* one has a *voice in legislation*. With reference to this fact, the New England and Middle States, shortly after the Declaration of Independence, sought to rid themselves of slave labor for three reasons: the poorness of their soils; coldness of their climate; and also the rapid increase of the white population; and because of those sections being more healthy than further South; not because they possessed any *higher moral standard* than the people living in the South! In the latter section, the climate is better adapted to the colored race, the productions being different, and the country sparsely settled; there were more inducements to slave labor in the growth of tobacco, rice, cotton and indigo, than of the cereals of the North. Hence, we see the reasons why there were *Abolitionists* or *Emancipationists* in *those early days*, not because the conscience of the former was any more upright than that of the latter, but because their *interest*, the great *leveler of opinions*, was based, and is now, upon the distinctions in productions heretofore alluded to. If the climate had been the same, and the profits of slave labor the same, in each section, would different conclusions have arisen and forced the people into a compliance with what did not comport with their interests? If we invest one thousand dollars in

business, and it pays us six or eight per cent. profit only, with the risk of losing life, and not unfrequently capital, and having much experience in this channel of business, we should be apt to change our pursuit, and follow what will pay best with capital. This is a universal law of our natures, begot in us, and ordained for wise purposes by our Creator. By the law of organized matter, we are subject to that of adaptation and *gravitation* towards a *common center*, for the amelioration of the human and progressive existences of colors, possessing degrees of humanity; but not humanity itself, and why? because, has their past history indicated even a foreshadow of humanity? If the people of the New England and the Middle States, even the Quakers themselves, had entertained any conscientious scruples on the subject of slavery, while the Southerners loudly protested, during the latter part of the last century, against the further importation of negroes from Africa, because the profits of slave labor were not so fully developed then as now, and because the increased number materially diminished the value of those at home, why did the *citizens*, in the former States, especially in their chief commercial *cities*, that exercised a paramount influence over the sentiments and actions of the country people, influence the Convention in 1787 to continue the slave trade from 1800 to 1808, when the South was in favor of abolishing it in 1800? They did so, because they had a large number of merchant vessels and seamen employed in this most lucrative of all trades, and this, at that time, was done for their own *consideration*, not in view of benefiting the South. In

Boston, New York and Philadelphia, slavers were fitted out with the same unconcern, even up to 1808, as they now fit out *fishing smacks* to go to the banks of Newfoundland for cod! There was no *compunction* of conscience about the slave trade in those days in the North; would there have been in the South, had the cotton gin been known much before the close of the last century? which established slave labor upon a firm commercial *basis* as a *system of exchange*.

In the slave States, it is seldom that our ear is pained in hearing chastisements; the masters are lenient, and seldom over-exacting. If the negro is sick, he is cared for immediately, and the best medical talent is generally brought into requisition. He is well clothed, fed and housed; for all these requirements appeal to humanity and interest. The licentiousness of the sex is restrained by the planters inducing their negroes to choose companions, and live respectably with each other. Their immoralities are corrected, and a strong desire to teach them morality by employing ministers to preach to them on Sunday, is manifested in many portions of the South, where the wealthier planters have negro churches on their plantations. Upon good authority, we are enabled to state that 500,000 blacks in the slave States have received sacrament, which number is more than three times the amount elsewhere negroes live, that have received sacrament, except in Brazil and Cuba, and one hundred and sixty-six times more than the missionaries in Africa have been able to impress with divine light. This shows the imitative spirit of the

African when brought in contact with the whites, and that the only hope which the multitudes have of eternal fruition is by being kept in constant contact in bondage, serving their superiors, whom they are ever endeavoring to imitate. This shows that slavery is no damper, but an incentive to them, to imitate their masters in divine worship, that excites them to goodness, morality, and a self-respect, which the barbarians of Africa do not possess. Goodness in slavery is here traced, and it may baffle Abolitionists to be thus apprised of it! In this light, and in this view of the subject, though the planters require labor in return, they perform a *stupendous good* in *civilizing* and moralizing the wild bands of African negroes, for *contrast* four millions of negroes in slavery in the United States with four millions of blacks in Africa, and see the moral standard and civilization of the former. The difference of their condition, with reference to the safety of life alone, is sufficient to atone for the supposed crime of slavery, or life is worth nothing.

Hence morally, and politically speaking, every planter or slave-holder, acts the part of a *missionary* and *economist*, in reclaiming a portion of the savage hordes from barbarism, and teaching them the pursuits of civilized life; and is this not doing more for them than he who says much in their favor, without *doing* any thing, but to *separate* the *relations* of *master* and *slave*! If this current of civilization could pass on unmolested, being supplied with new recruits from the coast of Africa, and sending the schooled ones there to move on in the march of progress, how be-

neficient and God-like would be the objects combined to produce this effect ! In the slave States, the negroes are bound to have homes, with provisions, clothing, and medical attendance, and the master is bound to provide them. It is the custom, on most plantations, to pay the negro for extra work, and allow patches of ground to those desiring to work for themselves; and in this way, not unfrequently, they make one hundred dollars, and even more per year, in the cotton and sugar States. On Sunday they dress nearly as well as their masters, and appear to enjoy themselves as well as the peasantry of most portions of Europe or America. They are gay, vivacious, and fond of dancing and music. Seldom are they taxed beyond their exertions or strength. They appear happy and contented. The prejudice, in the United States against slavery, is common among two classes in the North; the one are the Abolition leaders who know what they say to be untrue with reference to the condition of the slaves in the South; while the other know nothing of the condition of the slaves, and in casting their votes, they are used as *tools* ! It is a political *game* both North and South, to seek *offices* through appeals to the *passions* and *prejudices* of men, rather than to their reasons and judgments. If the people had, in both sections, *before the war*, penetrated into the investigation of the subjects at issue, and had reasoned for themselves, carrying the *Constitution* and *Government* back to the first days of the Republic, the leaders, who have caused the present crisis, would have had to settle the points at issue, or to go alone themselves into the

field! Reason has been dethroned in our happy land since the year 1860; and since this the fearful crime of national suicide has been developed on the battlefield, in *gloating* on human blood!

Within the bounds of the United States, the great and primordial objects of the Government should be, to increase in national prosperity; and this can be done only by the division of labor, each portion performing that which is fit and compatible to the tastes and genius of the people. On the high and rolling plains of the North and West, away from the heated miasmatic swamps, the whites live and flourish with all their advancing institutions of art and science; whereas, in the South, the white men, who expose themselves, die off more rapidly, leaving widows and children to mourn their losses; but the negro endures the heat and the malaria arising from the swamps. Hence, he is adapted, by the peculiar organization of the skin and cranium, to endure the labor in those fields, uncongenial to the capacity of the white man.

Much has been said against the institution of slavery in the Southern States, by the different European nations, as being a moral wrong, and they have fully *insinuated*, that, if we desire to come up to their *national standard of morality*, we must, as they have done on their small possessions in the West Indies, set our slaves free, and then hire them as they do. This would be crouching to royalty, and robbing God and ourselves. The progress, towards a high civilization in the West Indies, has not been on the wing, since the manumission of the slaves; for their wants being few in the form of food and clothing, they are

not disposed to labor, only enough to supply an immediate necessity for the day or the morrow,—living mostly on the natural productions of the country. They can subsist on plantains and bananas, with the fish obtained from the ocean,—the obtaining of which requires but little labor. The whites have retrograded, and of late, have commingled with the blacks in licentiousness. The estates, once so large and prosperous, abounding in all material prosperity and wealth, are dilapidated, wasting all that greatness and luxury, for which man pushes forward his highest aspirations. If the land proprietors of the West Indies where the slaves have been manumitted, should exert themselves to plant sugar-cane or cotton, the disposition of the negroes is such, that they know no bounds to their extortion and rapacity, till the planters themselves are reduced to poverty, after making one or two ineffectual efforts to rear themselves to former prosperity and happiness. The population in the West Indies has rapidly decreased, and what remains, is concentrating into small towns and cities, presenting all that poverty and debasement, so common to the manumission of slaves in America, both among the whites and blacks. Consequently, the country is fast returning to its original state,—that of a howling wilderness. And this would be the condition of the Southern United States, were we to follow the *most moral examples* of our *most* Christian neighbors, which would decrease the luxuries and comforts of the world, to the amount of near 300,000,000 of dollars per year, in the productions of rice, tobacco, sugar, cotton, and other tropical products.

Ere the course of production could change, and give material impulse to the manufacturing interests in the North, the country, both North and South, in such an *event*, with all its architectural grandeur at present, would fade and become a moldering pile of ruins, like those we have seen in Mexico and Central America, and those described by Stephens; for human nature and human will are the same in every region!

We see what has been the fate of nations engaged in civil war, and may we not, our fellow-countrymen, North and South, East and West, stay this awful curse we are forcing on ourselves, and entailing to posterity? We conjure you all by the ties of fraternal accord to pause and reason, ere *humanity* may cease to be *humanity*! Some have the *impudence* to say that reason, at present, produces nothing! *Reason* has made us what we were two years ago, and what is *war* making us both North and South, East and West? Who cannot tell the tale of some distress, and who is not in favor of peace and prosperity? letting this be at the sacrifice of prejudice, but based on reason's side and the command of God! As before mentioned, the decrease, in production from the manumission of the Southern slaves, would be a most *delicious pill* to take, in order to follow the *most moral examples* of the European nations, which, at the present conjuncture of international affairs, would revolutionize and impoverish all those nations, that have been fostered by our commerce and productions. The picture of Mexico, and the Central and South American provinces, that formerly belonged to Spain, is

one, since the emancipation of their negroes, which forbids the rest of mankind to imitate; for what do we see in those tropical divisions but distress, misery, and poverty, with all the concomitant evils which beset the human race, and progressive existences of colors in anarchy and confusion! Under the Spanish sway, the regions alluded to, had progressed rapidly in the advancement of agriculture, and commerce, and in the general improvements of the roads, and the concentration of its population into small villages and cities, and also in the mode of developing the mineral resources of the country. Negro slavery and peonage were, before the Revolution, sanctioned by the Spanish government, and though the lands were held by extensive grants brought partially under cultivation, the profits of agriculture were so great and munificent in augmenting the wealth of the proprietors, that they produced the most happy effects upon the whole body politic, in distributing their wealth among the mechanics, artizans, and men of science, in the construction of bridges and roads, in erecting temples for worship, halls of learning in law, medicine, and commerce, and in the building of towns and cities, which are *common centers* in the *discussion of liberty and tyranny!*

In taking a survey of the powerful *governments* of Europe, and more especially of its small divisions, we feel pained to see human misery and depravity forced by *preconceived legislation* upon people of one congeneric origin, of the same color and of the same natural abilities. In the conquest and re-conquest of the European States, the feudal system has prevailed

in the partition of the lands among the nobles; though the conqueror claimed first all the lands, and in the next place, the people as his vassals. Under this system, the nobles farmed out their lands to those inferior in rank, until they descended to the peasantry, who cultivate the soils, and in most cases, formerly they were a part and parcel of the estates, and could not be transferred without the transfer of the soil. In return for their labor they obtain a scant allowance for themselves, and dare not manifest any increase in prosperity, fearing that they might be informed on, and in this event, they would be forced to yield any material prosperity which they desire for their own accommodation. This may be gleaned from European works. Such is the course of taxation, espionage, rentage, and retaining vassals to labor, in Denmark, England, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Poland, Turkey, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Bavaria, Greece, Russia and Austria, with few exceptions in certain provinces and divisions, in Europe; in Egypt, the Barbary States, Central and Southern Africa, in Africa; and in Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia, India, Tartary, China and Japan, in Asia; that, though their system of exacting tribute and forcing the peasantry to till the soil, may bear the opposite name to slavery in the United States, Cuba and Brazil, yet human baseness, ignorance and vice are as low as it is in the nature of human beings or progressive existences to descend! This class scarcely know what they will have to-morrow for their subsistence. This we gather from works on the feudal system and population of Europe.

The choice and the luxuries of the land, though raised by the peasantry themselves, are yielded up to the proprietors; and the peasants dare not partake, because they are ever fearful of being informed on. Such is the servile disposition of the peasantry to gain favors of their superiors. Scarcely have they clothing to hide their nudity, living in mere huts, without the most common comforts possessed by the negroes of the South, of Cuba or Brazil. Such is the oppression of man to his *own color*, that he *blushes* not to feel himself a *man tinctured with inhumanity and wanton cruelty to man!* Such is the degradation of the peasantry, both in the cities and in the country, that by their religion they are taught to marry very young, and desire large families, to be reared in the same way as themselves, acting out the *lowest desires* of *animal instinct*. Like animals in parts of Europe and Asia, they are forced to perform the labors of the field, and that, too, with implements of the most ordinary nature, as first conceived, and in others, with implements which are no better than sticks or forked prongs of trees. In most of these old countries, it is seldom that the plow is used—the labor is performed by the common people with the most inferior manual implements. Hence, there is no progress among the peasantry of the most of Europe, and the whole of Asia and Africa. The fundamental *evil* in most of these countries is the insecurity of the cultivator against *exorbitant exactions*. Such will be ever the case in central Governments, towards which all Republics bend.

The desire of rising in the world; the dread of

falling in society; the pride of superior condition; and the consciousness of political power, which are intended to be so many restraints on the principle of increase in population, are prevented from developing themselves by the slavish submission which the priests and politicians of those countries have interwoven with the character of the people. In China, there is but one *power*, who rules the empire, and this is by the volition of his will! The *people* are his slaves, and *justice* is *venal* over the *whole empire*; and on what side soever we turn, we see that power sought after! If the rulers and politicians of Europe, of Asia and Africa, would consider carefully the condition of the peasantry of their respective countries, and that they are beings of their own color and of their own origins, and that their efforts in favor of each respective class are fully needed at home, how much good and happiness might be distributed in their own countries, and to the firesides of those who would advance comparatively and remarkably in the scale of utility and intelligence! In America we want population, and we want it of two kinds, free and slave, the one to take the place of the other in the march of improvements, and the acquisition of territory to the South-west and South, the natural home of the negro.

The Constitution of the United States of North America compared with *those* of other countries, and the ruling *characteristics* of mankind, Americans may be justly proud to contemplate, and also the individual importance which each one enjoys in the interests of the Government, for no one is superior, not

even an official! For if an official of any rank whatsoever deviates in any particular from the oath of his office, which is based on the Constitution, he commits blasphemy and perjury, and rebels against the organic law of the land, which gives tone and character to legislation. Such an *official* has no apology to offer to the *insulted people* in breaking their organic law, that is made for the safety of all against tyranny and oppression; for the people are ever ready, as occasions might require it, to meet, deliberate, and give a new or an amended organic law, suitable to the interests and security of all concerned. These principles find their seat in common sense, and in a desire of doing to others as we would have such do unto us, in like conditions and circumstances. An official is a servant of the people, and nothing more. We are created free and equal by the laws of our nature; and by the peculiar organization of the white race on the continent of America, we, the white race, feel that our powers and influence in bettering the condition of the human family must not only be felt at home, in the grandeur of our march towards reducing the colored races to civilization and enlightenment, in making them useful in developing the hidden bounties of nature in the woody and swampy wilds of the temperate and torrid zones of this continent; but that we must, by fostering liberal institutions of learning, and offering a home for the oppressed, though not *equality*, where color is of a different hue from the white race, *humanize* those governments, whose sordid ends are to *debase those* of the same color and origins, as in Europe!

Under the Constitution, we have passed through many trials to test the tempers, the concessions, the spirit and character of the American people. We were convulsed and threatened with civil war in 1794 in the western part of Pennsylvania, though its duration was short. The tempers of the people were excited in 1798 at the passing of the Alien and Sedition bill. We scorned the New Englanders in 1814, when they had the Hartford Convention in contemplation, to divide our country into fragments. Our ears and hearts were pained by every day's report of the proceedings in Congress in the years 1820, 1821, 1832, 1833, 1850 and 1854. But of late, the years 1860, 1861 and 1862, have brought with them gloom and sorrow, too deep to be passed over in silence.

The mighty *fabrie* which was reared by the patriots of a past age is now being rent in twain, like the fair constitutions of our sister Republics to the Southwest! Surely *they seceded* from Spain, and declared to the world their independence, between the years 1810 and 1821, during which interval they had a severe and sanguinary struggle for their liberties; but alas! what are they? More than forty years have passed away since that period, and civil war has, for the most part, prevailed, with now and then a period of peace for a few years; though possessing the richest and most exuberant soils and the most salubrious climate upon their table lands known to man! Like these, we are discontent to be prosperous and happy, but in becoming jealous and envious of each other in the North and South, East and West,

we are the better able to tear down the pillars of State, slay each other like brutes, and then boast of our love for our *country* and *countrymen*, instead of ever having held to the golden rule, "Do unto thy neighbor as thou wouldst, that thy neighbor should do unto thee, in like circumstances and conditions."

Holding to this principle of moral teachings, we should have had no civil war, nor all the evils which are now ensuing, with the manifold calamities and death scenes, which blacken the American character! Our Constitution is a wise one; and in order to live fully up to its spirit and interpretation, as it was formed by our forefathers, we should transport ourselves back, over the ocean of *time* and of *blood*, since its formation, to be inspired with fresh devotion, by reading the deliberations of the convention that formed it, and placing ourselves in the positions of those *fathers*, whose magnanimous and generous concessions gave this constitution birth, the paladium of our liberties! We shall never be at peace, till we return to the Golden Rule, for blind fanaticism both South and North must fall to earth, moldering, to renew and invigorate a *coming generation*, with *even tempers* and a *proper spirit of concession*!

It is said we know a tree by the fruit it produces, meaning its quality, and it is so with parties in Governments. In Revolutions, it might be *well* that one party should be denominated strictly *Constitutional*; acting under this name, and contending for measures to be carried out, according to the letter and spirit of the Constitution as it reads, and according to the prior usages and judicial decisions which have been decided

in the last resort. For one party to say that it is Democratic, Republican, Secession, Abolition, or Union, we are at a loss to know at this time, what it means by such ambiguous terms, and can gain no clue to the real intent and purpose of such a party, only as their actions are made known, and as they agree or disagree with the Constitution, which is a whole, not part of a machine for government. Consequently, no part of this document can be laid aside, without subverting the *designs* for which it was created; all of its parts are active for good in the same manner as all the constituent parts of the earth are operative for good; consequently we can detract none, without incurring the high displeasure of their creators, for each part was made for a beneficent end. Hence, under the guise of any of these names of parties, except 'Constitutional,' men act and pretend that they act correctly. Neither a Secessionist nor an Abolitionist is a 'Constitutional man,' for the former subverts that organic law, while the latter omits two essential parts of the compact, as to representation in Congress on the apportionment clause, and the rendition of persons, fugitive from labor or service. If the latter man should say that he was a 'Constitutional man,' we should know that he was false in his devotion, and so with the former, for both are in opposition to the organic order of its creation, which common sense imparts to the most casual observer.

Upon this principle of reasoning, and adhering to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, how would a secession candidate for the office of United States' Representative or Senator be met and treated in any

of the free states, while he should be engaged in stumping the district, vindicating the right of secession upon a constitutional basis? or upon any ground he might think justifiable? and what would be the effect if a whole district should become thus disaffected to the Constitution? Would not every voice, from that of the robust giant-like man, to the delicate rosebud just blossoming into her teens, and from the cradle to the grave, *move* with one common emotion to put down such a disorganizer of their peace and *lodge* him, at such a conjuncture of times like these, in some dungeon? and place an army in the disaffected district, arresting the leaders and lodge them for safe keeping? This, the people in any Northern state would say to be just and proper in self-defence, and from the nature of the offence conflicting with, and breaking down, the Constitution, the organic law of the *land*. In this view of constitutional law against a secessionist, would not an abolitionist, seeking the office of United States' Representative or Senator, be equally as culpable as the secessionist, for the acts of the latter bear as much against the constitution as those of the former, which we have heretofore proved, in respect to his absolving himself from the obligations as to representation in Congress on three fifths of the colored population of the South, and the rendition of fugitives from labor? In consequence of these two parts having been literally subverted by the Abolitionists in the choice of representatives in Congress, in which subversion there is open treason against the Constitution, for a part broken, breaks the whole, and in consequence of such not having

been tried for treason and punished accordingly, this present civil war is inaugurated upon us, for secessionism could not have risen in the first instance, nor is there any thing on record to show that secessionism could or would have arisen first; for abolitionism began back as early as the year 1775, and even before this period of time in Pennsylvania among the Quakers. Thus, in tracing the periods of emancipationism in the Northern States, we are enabled to trace the incipient stages of abolitionism, which, as history proves, antedates secessionism, and would destroy the industrial pursuits of the South, which are guaranteed to them, by those clauses in the Constitution. To endeavor, in any manner, to pass laws in contravention of those clauses in the Constitution, is *sedition and treason*, for it is waging war against the states holding slaves, and becomes intolerable as a *capital crime*, in view of the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The Constitution of the United States will bear no disintegration; it is a whole, not a part of a machine for government, upon the faith and pledges of its adoption, as we then were in the several and sovereign states, with respect to our domestic institutions of slavery, marriages, wills, deeds, and the regulations of contracts. As well might all be subverted as one, and in this there would be no *choice*, as to invading State sovereign rights. If it should be questioned where we stand, we will now answer, that we stand on the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and denominate ourselves 'Constitutional men,' without any prefix or suffix to the designation, eschewing every ism which is not countenanced by the organic

law of the land. We breathe a sovereign contempt for new fangled names in politics, for all of them have lodged, on their standard, obsolete men, gone out of use in their former positions, for their *radical doctrines*, and hope to obtain office on the false pretence of *having reformed!* A Democrat or a Republican may be a Constitutional man, which depends on his course of action, solely with reference to the Constitution. He is known only by his acts. At this juncture of time, a Union man has become a *questionable character*, who is only known by the policy he advocates. If he is a Constitutional Union man he is all right, and is a good man; but if he is an Abolition Union man, he is a rebel to the Constitution, acting in violation of that most sacred Compact. Such a one is known by the policy he advocates, and will, in an organized community, bear close watching, *lest* he do *harm*. A man or a party advocating the letter and spirit of the Constitution to be carried out, which recognizes neither Secessionism nor Abolitionism nor Emancipationism, are good doers, and should be sustained by honest men under all circumstances. An administration is not the Constitution, but it is founded on this compact; hence it is either constitutional in its objects, or anarchal or tyrannical. This depends upon its acts in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Compact. In the administration of the Government, the oath of office admits of no change, under any circumstances, from that compact, the supreme law of the land. For every official, without having an *wise discretion* given him, is sworn, in the most solemn manner, to protect and defend the letter and spirit of

that palladium of our liberties, that is, the Constitution.

When the matter which composes the present Constitution was under discussion in the several States or Colonies, and after delegates were elected by the States to represent each in the Convention, each delegate was, *ex-officio*, bound to take an oath to support the highest organic law then over him, which was, literally and effectually, the State Constitution or Compact; and this was the basis of his action; for he could not aid and abet in making a compact in opposition to the State compact. An oath of office is naturally and conventionally made to discharge the functions of the office faithfully, according to the compact, and any deviation from it subjects the incumbent to perjury. The people, through their delegates to the Convention forming the Constitution, became bound to protect and defend this compact on its adoption. Hence, by descent, it is the primordial law of the land. It is the basis of the Government, in the same manner as the constitution of the earth is the basis of its government in its orbit; for, with reference to the latter, it is governed by the law of gravitation, and by centripital and centrifugal powers made natural to bodies; and thus is the general Government. For it is by the force of gravitation it possesses that causes it typically to revolve in its orbit, and by the means of its centripital and centrifugal forces, which are defined by the terms general government and state governments, that one is kept from absorbing the other, and consequently, serves as a balance against the effect of the other. If

the former was inactive, the States would absorb the General Government, and if the States were inactive, the General Government would absorb them. Therefore in governments, as on the earth, those two powers or forces must balance each other, or all is lost! Hence, in the organization of the constitution of the earth, we see its counterpart in the Constitution of the United States, which is the highest praise that man can pay to man! The States bear the same relation to the General Government that the stars do to the constitution of the earth. The administrative power of the United States Government is embraced in an executive, styled President, whose oath of office is, "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." The paraphernalia of the Administration are embraced in his secretaries, foreign ministers or representatives, custom-house officers, postmasters, attorneys, marshals, judges and military officers, being mostly confirmed by the United States Senate. The Administration is liable to change every four years, while the Constitution is *perpetual*. To which do the people of the United States owe allegiance in this case, that is, their first allegiance? to the Administration, the creature of party, with passions as near wrong as right, and with strong manifestations to depart from the compact, or with frequent departures therefrom, or the *Constitution*; which is likened to the constitution of the earth, that is unchangeable as the *designs* of the creation? In this light an

American owes his natural allegiance to the compact and the laws made literally to accord with the spirit of that compact; but to none else, for these are primordial and organic, when confirmed by the supreme court of the land, who are sworn to support, defend, and protect the Constitution, not Congress, nor the Administration. These, in law and equity, are often mere creatures of the most abject passions, indicating more the animal than the intellectual; and what would be the condition of an honest and faithful constitutional man? ever true to the *mark*, but who is opposed to the Administration, which, having the power, mistrusts his want of confidence to it, and pleads that he should take an oath to support, defend, and protect the Constitution and Administration, *if the Administration*, in its revolutionary tendency, should wholly depart from the Constitution? Would he not be naturally absolved from his oath in part, because of the latter having committed the act of perjury in not adhering to the letter and spirit of the Constitution? These are grave and serious questions, and should be met by the philosophy of reason and good common sense, which make a *man* in any region. We expect to tread on men's toes that tread on the Constitution, the organic law of the land; and by the Eternal, this is right! to the contrary, notwithstanding!

Constitutional liberty is the boast of Americans; and the toleration in discussion and in difference of opinions, where that difference is constitutional, is the great safety-valve created in the palladium of our sacred heritage, and when this is curtailed and

put down by the force of arms and imprisonment, or by threats to imprison "Constitutional men," liberty is gone and tyranny has begun! Men may stand this for a time, but it works and feeds a counter-current in the breast of every Constitutional man, insomuch that, when it begins to flow, no embankments can stay the universal destruction which it will entail. This has been the history of the world, and what has been, we may reasonably expect again, in like conditions and circumstances. One man is nothing in the way of physical force, but it is the *electricity*, at such a time, that pervades *mankind* not in power, and thinking ones in power, that we all have to fear more than the abstract principles of Abolitionism or Secessionism. Let men of common sense survey these principles, and be dictated to by constitutional liberty, which all reading and thinking men should know, understand and appreciate. The allegiance of an American citizen consists of his faithfulness and fullness in the discharge of his duties or obligations, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, or that of a State. Hence, in the United States, this duty or obligation of a citizen is constitutional, in contradistinction to loyal; which term implies an allegiance to a Government, or to a Constitution, whose head is styled king or emperor. Wherefore this term "*loyal*," so much in use among *centralizing men* in the United States, is one which our forefathers renounced on the 4th of July, 1776; and on the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in the year 1788, we have substituted the term "Constitutional." When we say

that a man is a "Constitutional man," we have said all that that instrument demands of him, without substituting the *foreign term* "loyal," which would imply an obligation to a perpetual *creature*, that our forefathers created in the Constitution, without the *ability of doing wrong!* This term is a reproach to the term "Constitutional," and shows, in those making use of it, a disposition to ape foreign governments and constitutions in preference to our own, created and ordained by the patriots of a past age. Allegiance is a term applied to a constitution as ours, or to a government inaugurated to be perpetual, and ruled by a king or emperor. Hence, the term "loyal" is a term applied to a *subject* of this latter form of government, and expresses his duty to a perpetual head, in contradistinction to the term president, according to the Constitution of the United States, who *can do wrong*, and is *like all other officials*, subject to impeachment and removal from office, on his violating the oath of his official station. Therefore, to say that an American is "loyal," is to say that he is a *subject*, and *acknowledges a king or emperor*; but when we say that he is "Constitutional," we have said all in commendation of him that the Constitution admits of, and further than this, is *sedition and treason* to that sacred instrument, by creating and giving a *title* to the executive by *implication*, which is strictly forbidden by the Constitution—see section 9, clause 7, article 1. This cures the use of the term "loyal" in the United States, for which expression, as applied to our institutions, we feel a loathing disgust. "Constitutional" is the term. Wherefore, from

the foregoing, we discover that our allegiance is an *equal* obligation to the Constitution, not to an official, resting on all American citizens. If an Administration severs its allegiance from the Constitution, or from its letter and spirit, the people become naturally and constitutionally absolved from its support, for our first allegiance is to the organic law, and secondly, to the Administration, only inasmuch as it faithfully and fully discharges its functions according to the letter and spirit of the Constitution; otherwise the people would plot with the Administration to subvert and overthrow the fundamental law of the land, which would sink us all again in chaos, as we were before its formation. In this instrument we see the power of the people to create official *servants—hiredlings*—to do a deputed act, according to its letter and spirit, which they would find impossible to discharge, from the extent of territory and the inconvenience it would subject the masses to. Hence, for officials to assume to do more than discharge the oath of their official stations, would imply fools or knaves. This every “Constitutional man” knows to be no more nor less than the truth.

Daniel Webster, while in Congress, and at a period when free discussion of the acts of the Administration was sought to be restrained, offered the following, in defense of the freedom of speech :

“ Important as I deem it to discuss, on all proper occasions, the policy of the measures at present pursued, it is still more important to maintain the right of such discussion in its full and just extent. Sentiments lately sprung up, and now growing popular,

render it necessary to be explicit on this point. It is the ancient and constitutional right of this people to canvass public measures and the merits of public men. It is a home-bred right, a fireside privilege. It has been enjoyed in every house, cottage and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air, and walking the earth. Belonging to private life as a right, it belongs to public life as a duty; and it is the last duty of those whose representative I am shall find me to abandon. This high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise within this House, and in all places—in time of war, in time of peace, and at all times. Living, I will assert it; dying, I will assert it; and should I leave no other legacy to my children, by the blessing of God I will leave them the inheritance of free principles, and the example of a manly, independent, and constitutional defence of them.”

The sentiments herein expressed by the Hon. late Daniel Webster should have a cordial fellowship with every American, and will have with those who adhere to the letter and spirit of the Constitution; for less would be unmanly and unconstitutional. Hence, we may know the *party* by the *effects* which they produce, as a *tree* by its *fruit*.

At the present juncture of our national troubles, the Catholic clergy in the United States are very careful in their expressions, and seem to feel to take no part further than their duties as Constitutional men, may require of them. They are far from being Abolitionists or Emancipationists; for the bitter fruit

of such doctrines the intelligent ones are conversant with, in the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, where the representatives of these incendiary elements in society have produced the most desolating and devastating consequences. With reference to this matter, an article from Archbishop Hughes' organ is as follows :

[From the Metropolitan Record—Archbishop Hughes' Organ.]

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION—AN EMANCIPATION
CRUSADE TO BE INAUGURATED.

“In another part of this week's *Record* will be found what we think our readers will regard as a startling and extraordinary *pronunciamento* from the President of the United States. We say that it is both startling and extraordinary, and a perusal of the document itself will afford sufficient proof of the correctness of our opinion in regard to its character.

This production commences with the statement that “the war is to be prosecuted hereafter, as heretofore, for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relations between the United States and the people thereof in which States that relation may be, or is, suspended and disturbed.” This is a sound principle, and no patriot can take exception to its enforcement within the limits of the Constitution. But it should not be forgotten that the South is not the only portion of the country by which that Constitution has been violated and set at defiance, for its most cherished guarantees have been regarded as so much waste paper in many of the loyal States, whose fidelity to the Union could not be called in question. We do not care for pursuing this painful feature in

our civil war any further. We only call attention to it for the simple reason that it was suggested by the opening sentence of this remarkable production of the Presidential pen.

The second paragraph of the proclamation states "that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and forever free." As we publish the document in full, it is unnecessary to make any further quotations therefrom, particularly as the extract we have made may be said to contain the pith and substance of the whole affair.

Never, since the nation started into existence, has it been called upon to give its attention to a matter of such great moment and importance as that presented in President Lincoln's last state paper. It is no wonder, therefore, that its publication should have produced such a profound sensation all over the country, and that its probable effects upon the future of the Republic should be canvassed and discussed with such intense anxiety. It is so strangely at variance with the conservative views hitherto expressed by the Chief Magistrate, that it has fallen upon the public ear with stunning effect. While it has delighted the radical portions of the North, it has produced a feeling of dismay and bewilderment among the conservative and patriotic masses.

Should the policy foreshadowed in this document be carried out, at the time specified therein, we may

reasonably expect the enactment of a tragedy on American soil, compared with which the bloody horrors of the St. Domingo massacre were mere child's play. The slave population of all the Southern States is, we believe, according to the last census, about four millions, while of the States in rebellion the slave population is about four-fifths of the whole. Now, in the event alluded to—that is, the continuance of the Southern Confederacy in its present attitude, and its subjugation by the Union army—all these will be emancipated. We will suppose such a condition to be realized, what is to become of the millions thus suddenly manumitted? Where are they to go? Are they to be placed in possession of the forfeited estates of their former owners, and if so, how is the process of the division of property to be carried out?

Let us again ask, what are we to do with the millions of whites who either owned or were dependent upon slave property for the means of subsistence? These are problems which we think will be rather difficult of solution by our greatest statesmen—that is, if the race of American statesmen has not already run out. If we pursue this matter still further, we shall find ourselves involved in greater and more serious difficulties at every step. Let us give it the serious consideration to which it is entitled by its influence on the future condition of the Republic by its terrific importance.

The proclamation is only to be carried into effect in the event of the disloyal States persisting in their present attitude of hostility towards the Government after the first of January next. It will hardly be sup-

posed by any sane mind that a belligerent and determined enemy will not be rendered still more fiercely in earnest by the inauguration of a war policy that threatens the destruction of every thing that is of value to them on this earth—for, if carried into successful operation, such a policy can only result in the disruption of the whole social system of the South, involving its inhabitants, both white and black, both bond and free, in general anarchy and ruin. Are we prepared for such a fearful calamity?

Do we understand what a servile war means? Can we picture to ourselves, without shuddering at the dread spectacle, the scenes of savage riot and debauchery, of carnage and rapine—scenes of which the horrors of the battle field can furnish no adequate conception? The conflict of man with man is a struggle between equals, but a war, in which women and children and old age become the victims, is savage and barbarous to the last degree. Surely, the President of the United States does not desire to precipitate such a calamity upon the country; surely, he does not mean to revive within the limits of the United States all the horrors of a negro insurrection. If this last dire extremity should happen, then we may never more expect to see the Union as it has been. Then more than one third of the land will be converted into a desert, and the world will stand *aghast* at the *crimes* and *outrages* committed in the *name* of liberty.

What shall we say to this remarkable contrast between the President's Inaugural Address, on the 4th of March, 1861, and his Proclamation of the 22d of

September, 1862? Judged by the first announcement, can the second be regarded as otherwise than unconstitutional? The President says, on the 4th of March, 1861, that he has no lawful right to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, while on the 22d day of September, 1862, he announces his determination to declare the slaves of all States, which may be in rebellion in 1863, forever free. This is total and unconditional emancipation, without previous preparation—emancipation of nearly four millions of *human* beings, who are totally unfit for the new position in which they will thus be placed. If we may judge from the indications already given in some parts of the North, is it likely that our people will tolerate the influx of negroes, which will set in upon us in the event of this proclamation being carried into practical operation? In the President's own State, as we have seen, the people prohibited, by special enactment, all negroes from entering within the limits of the State, while in other parts of the North the working classes have manifested the most determined opposition to negro immigration from the South.

We have already had riots in several cities between the whites and blacks, and the President has himself admitted, in a conversation which he had some weeks ago with the members of a colored deputation, "the white race suffers from the presence of the negroes among them, and that this affords a reason why we should be separated." The separation of which he speaks is that which would be effected by colonization, an undertaking that, we think, will be admitted by every candid and impartial mind as utterly imprac-

licable. We have shown once before that the free negroes of the country are opposed to this system of colonization, if the fact that only twelve thousand of them have emigrated in forty-two years to the black republic of Liberia be taken as evidence. If they are, therefore, unwilling to lend their co-operation to this scheme of colonization, shall we force them into it against their free will? Why, this of itself, would be reducing them to slavery; for if they are not at liberty to follow their own inclinations in this respect, they certainly can not be called free. * * * *

But, let me ask, is it not time to abandon these impracticable theories—these “inoperative” measures? They have already cost the country over two hundred thousand lives and nearly two thousand millions of dollars; they have aroused a feeling of bitterness and enmity between the two sections that may never be allayed; they have plunged the country into all the horrors of internecine strife; they have driven over a million of men from the peaceful paths of industry to follow the trade of war; they have desolated thousands of once happy homes, and recruited the army of the poor from the families of our dead and disabled volunteers. But we shudder at the terrible consequences which have already resulted from this Abolition policy, which, if persisted in, will convert our once happy land into a vast Golgotha.”

As bearing on the President's Proclamation of emancipating the slaves in the Southern States, in a certain event, and in pertinence of expressions to the Archbishop's organ, we quote the comments of the Louisville Journal, the Louisville Daily Democrat,

the New York Journal of Commerce, as seen in, and quoted by the Louisville Journal, the Boston Post, and Judge Caton, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

"On first reading this proclamation, we supposed that it referred to the 6th section of the confiscation act, and proclaimed what the President understood to be the legal effect of his previous proclamation founded on that section. This in all conscience would have been bad enough. On reading the proclamation a second time, however, we perceived that it makes no reference to the 6th section of the confiscation act; and, on examining this section itself, we perceived that its subject-matter is different from that of the proclamation, the former relating to all the property of rebels in any State, while the latter relates expressly and exclusively to all the slaves of the States in rebellion. It thus appears that the proclamation is not and does not assume to be founded on the confiscation law or any other law. It is evidently an arbitrary act of the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the Union. In short, it is a naked stroke of military necessity!

We shall not stop now to discuss the character and tendency of this measure. Both are manifest. The one is as unwarrantable as the other is mischievous. The measure is wholly unauthorized and wholly pernicious. Though it cannot be executed in fact, and though its execution will never be seriously attempted, its moral influence will be decided and purely hurtful. 5 So far as its own purpose is concerned, it is

a mere *brutum fulmen*, but it will prove only too effectual for the purposes of the enemy. It is a gigantic usurpation, unrelieved by the promise of a solitary advantage however minute and faint, but, on the contrary, aggravated by the menace of great and unmixed evil.

Kentucky cannot and will not acquiesce in this measure. Never! As little will she allow it to chill her devotion to the cause thus cruelly imperilled anew. The government our fathers framed is one thing, and a thing above price; Abraham Lincoln, the temporary occupant of the executive chair, is another thing, and a thing of comparative little worth. The one is an individual, the sands of whose official existence are running fast, and who, when his official existence shall end, will be no more or less than any other individual. The other is a grand political structure, in which is contained the treasures and the energies of civilization, and upon whose lofty and shining dome, seen from the shores of all climes, center the eager hopes of mankind. What Abraham Lincoln as President does or fails to do may exalt or lower our estimate of himself but not of the great and beneficent government of which he is but the temporary servant. The temple is not the less sacred and precious because the priest lays an unlawful sacrifice upon the altar. The loyalty of Kentucky is not to be shaken by any mad act of the President. If necessary, she will resist the act, and aid in holding the actor to a just and lawful accountability, but she will never lift her own hand against the glorious fabric because he has blindly or criminally smitten it.

She cannot be so false to herself as this. She is incapable of such guilt and folly.

The President has fixed the first of next January as the time for his proclamation to go into effect. Before that time, the North will be called upon to elect members of Congress, and the new Congress will assemble. We believe that the proclamation will strike the loyal people of the North in general with amazement and abhorrence. We know it. We appeal to them to manifest their righteous detestation by returning to Congress none but the avowed and zealous adversaries of this measure. Let the revocation of the proclamation be made the overshadowing issue, and let the voice of the people at the polls, followed by the voice of their representatives in Congress, be heard in such tones of remonstrance and of condemnation that the President, aroused to a sense of his tremendous error, shall not hesitate to withdraw this measure. The vital interests of the country demand that the proclamation shall be revoked, the sooner the better; and, until it is revoked, every loyal man should unite in vigorously working for its revocation. If the President by any means is pressed away from the constitution and his own pledges, he must be pressed back again and held there by the strong arm of the people.

The game of pressure is one that two can play at, and it is no slight reproach to the conservative men of the country that heretofore they have not taken their fair share in this game as played at the national capital. The radicals have been allowed to have the game

too much to themselves. We hope this reproach will now be wiped away."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN GIVES WAY TO THE PRESSURE.

"The President of the United States has shown frequently a determination to resist the radicalism of his party, although his efforts to resist appeared, in the progress of events, to be giving way. The proclamation of yesterday morning shows that the Abolitionists have pressed him into their service; not entirely, but virtually. The long solicited proclamation has come. It is virtually what the radicals desire. Although they still can find fault with it, they will accept it as a hopeful sign of progress. Those who desire the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, can now expect little aid from the President.

He has proclaimed in bad but intelligible English, that the slaves in any State, or part of a State, in rebellion on the first of January, 1863, are to be free. The army and navy are to recognize them as free. He does not say that the military power shall enforce their proclaimed right to freedom; but they shall not repress any efforts the slaves make to be free. Here the President is not as explicit as the Abolitionists would desire. The army and navy are not required to aid the slaves to obtain practical freedom, but they are forbidden to put down an insurrection among slaves if one should be started. The right to freedom is, however, recognized; the next step is a natural one, and will follow if the initiative is taken.

On what shadow of authority can the President rest this proclamation? Will military necessity cover an act of this sort? If it will, then may not State

organizations be abolished, and State lines obliterated, by a military proclamation? May not political rights be conferred on slaves by proclamation in all the States, free as well as slave? May not Indiana and Illinois be compelled to allow negroes to make their homes in those States? May not all provisions of State constitutions be overridden by a simple proclamation of the President? Slaves cannot be set free in this State unless they are removed from our limits; that is a constitutional provision—can it be overridden by a proclamation? If a State cannot nullify a plain right of the Federal Government, where does the Federal Government get the power to nullify the right of a State? In our opinion, the President has as much right to abolish the institution of marriage, or the laws of a State regulating the relation of parent and child, as to nullify the right of a State to regulate the relations of the white and black races. This attempt to execute laws, by trampling laws equally valid under foot, is absurd. By all true interpretations of military necessity, the power dies with the necessity—it has no permanent vitality.

It may be said that individuals who are striving to overthrow the Constitution and the Government have no right to complain if their Constitutional rights are disregarded. We grant the abstract justice of that, but let us see how this operates, if it could be carried into effect. It is not individuals that are to be affected, but States and parts of States. So no matter what an individual may be disposed to do, if he live in an infected district he suffers the penalty. He is compensated if he proves his loyalty, the Presi-

dent says; but how is he to fulfill his promise? Where is he to get the means and appropriate them? Congress has made no appropriation adequate to such a purpose; and we have every reason to believe that such an appropriation will never be made. It is a promise that the President has no power to fulfill; and we may go a step further, and say there is no power in the Government to fulfill such a promise, for it has not the means. It will require all the funds the Government can raise to put down the rebel armies; at least all that a people will be willing to furnish. Will the loyal States shoulder the additional burden of compensating the owner for his slaves, and then colonizing them in addition?

But none are to be compensated until they prove their loyalty, and how is that to be done? How is a man to give any demonstration of his loyalty, where loyalty is not protected? Cannot the President reflect that if there are no manifestations of loyalty in the seceded States, it is the fault or misfortune of the Government itself? The Government has not been able to protect the loyal sentiment in the seceded States. Individuals there are under a rigid, despotic, *de facto* Government; they are forced to a silent acquiescence at least; and often forced into the rebel army. In vain have they looked to the Government to protect them. Thousands have waited and waited, and given it up in despair; although far better Union men than the Abolition cohorts who have demanded this proclamation. In the name of Eternal Justice, what right has a Government to inflict penalties for disloyalty, produced by the impotence of the Govern-

ment itself? Let it first show its power to protect the citizen against the despotism of the rebellion, and give him a chance to be loyal; and then punish him, if he remains disloyal, by Constitutional penalties, not by arbitrary proclamations against laws and constitutions. When the Government is able to do this, the rebellion is over, and the military necessity, the only plea for this exercise of unwarrantable power, ceases. So that there can be rationally no place for it.

It will be seen that Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, and Western Virginia, do not come under this proclamation; that part of it which is entirely without law; but by an article of war the military forces are not to be used to return slaves escaping from their owners. We have no objection to that; and we presume they are not to be used to entice slaves from their owners, or to conceal them in their camps. Let the latter be observed, and it is all we ask. There is no military necessity to interfere with the operations of the civil law in this State, unless the law is broken by the military themselves.

As we have said, the active, conscious rebel has no right to complain if his Constitutional rights are not secured; if he loses, it is his chosen condition. He is an enemy of the Government, and if he be a man he will ask no rights under a Constitution he tries to overthrow. We speak for a Constitution we support, and for loyal men, and those who have been loyal, and would be, if the Government were able to perform its part of the bargain in giving them protection.

And what are you going to do about it? Give up the Union and join the rebellion, because Abraham Lincoln has issued a mischievous, pestilent proclamation? If Mr. Lincoln were the Union, we should give it up; and then we should ask no favors and no justice from that source; but this Union belongs to thirty millions of people, not to the President. They will control its destiny, not any President. Nor will his conduct alter our determination to fight forever for the union of these States. Dissolve the Union, and then—what? Do you escape emancipation? Would not war come? And would it not then be a crusade against slavery?"

The following able and logical article we take from the *Providence (R. I.) Post*.

SOUND VIEWS OF THE CONSTITUTION—A DANGEROUS
DOCTRINE.

“ We have more than once had occasion to refer to the extraordinary claims of power put forth in behalf of the Government since this war commenced, by those who have urged the adoption of radical measures. A great many measures have been proposed, and some have been adopted, for which no warrant has been found, or even claimed, under the Constitution. Yet, whenever we have objected to such measures, the uniform answer has been that the Constitution was not the source of authority in such cases, but that, the country being in a state of war, the President could do whatsoever he pleased, or whatsoever was calculated to weaken the enemy, under an unlimited and illimitable *war power*, derived from no written instrument, or well-defined and recognized regulations, but solely from *the circumstances of the case*.

We acknowledge ourselves somewhat pained and disappointed to find the President adopting this singular mode of reasoning. In his recent conversation with the Chicago clergymen, while arguing strenuously against the policy which they recommended, he is reported to have said : ‘ Understand, I raise no objection against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy.’ Here this *war power* is recognized in its broadest sense. It has no boundary save the judgment and will of the Commander-in-chief. Any measure which, in his

judgment, will best 'subdue the enemy,' becomes lawful and proper. Such is the claim of the President, and such was the claims of radicals in Congress when their measures were under consideration.

We contend that the claim is not a valid one, and that the doctrine on which it rests is subversive of all Government. Our Government is dealing with a rebellion. It is seeking to force the Constitution and laws of the United States against the armed resistance of men who claim to have thrown off their allegiance to it. Two ways, and only two ways, of accomplishing our purpose, present themselves. Either we must regard these rebels as still in the Union, in fact as well as by right, and be governed wholly by the Constitution and laws of our country in dealing with them; or, adopting the theory of Charles Sumner, we must regard the rebellion for the present as a success—the seceded States as constituting a power—and proceed to make war against them as we would against any foreign power or country which we proposed to annex or reannex to our own. In the latter case we might not find in the Constitution or in existing laws the rules by which our army and navy would have to be governed; but we certainly should not find ourselves launched upon this open sea to which the President introduces us, with no law but his judgment and no restraint but his will. The laws of nations, applicable to war, are as clearly defined, on most points, as our municipal laws. They set forth the rights of belligerents with distinctness, and claim to protect the weak against the strong with as much care and as much regard for public justice as

are exhibited in local governments. The President, as Commander-in-chief, has no more right to butcher prisoners than, as Chief Magistrate, he has to butcher citizens without trial. He must be governed, not solely by his own judgment and passions, but by the well-established laws of nations, applicable to the circumstances in which he is placed. He must respect private rights so far as he can do so consistently with his own safety, and trample upon no institution whose existence does not directly interfere with the legitimate purpose of his Government. He can declare martial law where he has the power to enforce it; but he makes a sad mistake when he declares that even martial law is no law at all, but the will of a commanding general.

There are men in all communities who believe that the triumphs of laws always bear a strict relation to the severity of their penalties. They would punish the smallest crimes with death or imprisonment for life. They would resort to the most revolting tortures as a means of terrifying such as were disposed to transgress wholesome regulations. Let us suppose the President to become a convert to this theory of government. What better could he do than issue a proclamation declaring that hereafter when our army entered a rebel city the women should be regarded as criminals, and marched to the whipping-post; the children should be looked upon as incumbrances and shot; while the men, more guilty than all the rest, should be subjected to the most excruciating tortures and finally die upon the gibbet? True, humanity would cry out against such barbarism; but if the

President, as Commander-in-chief, has 'a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy,' and honestly believes that the enemy may be terrified into submission by these terrible practices, who would question his right to proceed? And if these barbarities should not accomplish his purpose, why could he not issue still another proclamation, offering rewards to all servants who might poison rebel masters, and to all wives who might butcher rebel husbands? Why could he not by a similar blow to that which annihilates slavery, annihilate all laws for the punishment of crimes, and give free course to the passions of the brutal and degraded?

The truth is, as the reader must perceive upon a moment's consideration, it is a *great mistake* to suppose that a state of war is a sufficient apology for so sweeping a declaration as that of President Lincoln. It is not true that the Commander-in-chief may do whatever, in his judgment, will tend to subdue the enemy. He is the creature of law. In war, as well as in peace, if government is not the merest farce, he must be governed by the law.

It will not do for the Abolition fanatic who may chance to see this to say that our remarks are prompted by sympathy or tenderness for rebels. We doubt very much if all the proclamations which Greeley and Phillips might dictate, and the President could find time to read and sign, in the next six months, would do the rebels much harm. Just now, assuredly, they are in no great danger from such proclamations as that recently issued. But the people of the North, we verily believe, will find the doctrine

we have here combatted a most dangerous and troublesome enemy of their liberties. The President may find it hard, or even impossible to enforce martial law in South Carolina and Georgia, while a rebel army threatens even Ohio, and Maryland, and Pennsylvania, with invasion; but he does not, seemingly, find it hard to enforce martial law all over the North. We of Rhode Island and New England are living to-day under a proclamation which crushes the right of speech and suspends the authority of the civil magistrate! Does any man appeal to the Constitution in justification of so extraordinary a state of things? Not one. The Constitution is unthought of—it does not reach the case. But the answer we get to any inquiry in relation to the matter is, that the President is exercising his *war power*, and that under this power he may do anything, at the North just as well as at the South, which he may deem necessary to subdue the enemy. This is the doctrine of the times, and we submit to thinking men that it is a thousand times more dangerous to the North, while this war maintains its present aspects, than to the South."

"STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT."

Under this head, the New York Journal of Commerce, an independent conservative journal, has a strong article, which, condemning and lamenting the proclamation of the President, concludes in this wise and patriotic strain:

"What then is left to the good citizen, the patriot, the lover of the Constitution and Union? We reply that every man must stand now more firmly than

ever by the government of the United States, and endeavor to preserve the priceless benefits of that government for ourselves and our children. The Administration is not the government. The Constitution is the government; the people are the source of power; the ballot-box is the weapon of the citizen. The voice of the people must go out now more loudly than the voice of the President, and while we believe that he has departed from the true path of a constitutional President, we must keep our own feet in the track. Proclamations are not acts, and the error of the President does not make him any the less the constitutional head of our government. Let us be patient and faithful. Let the elections determine our belief in the Constitution; our faith in its glorious provisions. Presidents are but men. Our President is weighed down with the most tremendous load that one man ever carried. He indeed may be pardoned for erring, on whose single head rests the impending ruin of a mighty people. But, if God will, by our faithfulness as a people, there is yet hope that the old principles will be triumphant, and the old flag be again the emblem of a united people. Stand then by the government. Watch and labor for the return to power, under that government, of men who will administer the Constitution in its purity and power, who will regard it with veneration that no circumstances can alter, no rebellion however powerful can shake.

The State of New York must utter a voice for the Union and the Constitution against Radicalism that will echo from end to end of the land, and be heard

in the remotest ages to come. We are at the very point now on which the destiny of the nation, of the world, depends. We must not only elect a conservative State Government, but we must specially elect good able statesmen to Congress. Let us endeavor to make the next Congress somewhat like the old times when good and great men were in it, and its counsels were manly and American. Select only sound men, and the ablest men, and eschew all partisanship. Let political cliques and clubs stand aside for awhile at least. New York must lead the van in saving the nation. She can do it. She will do it. Two thirds of her citizens are patriots and abhor the radical men who, if in their power, will now plunge us into deep ruin."

In an article of the same character entitled "STAND BY THE FLAG," the Boston Post, the leading Democratic journal of New England, says:

"While we cannot support President Lincoln in acts outside of the Constitution, yet the people have seen fit to select him to bear the flag as their agent, and there is, or can be, no higher constitutional duty than to crush the rebellion. In a war with England a portion of the Federalists, though they opposed the political doctrines of Madison, yet by standing with their lives on the battle-fields of their country, won by so much the more the respect, love, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens forever. So, in our transcendent hour, the individual opinions of the President have not kept back the patriotic from the cause of the country. The President's first proclamation was not the call of an individual, nor of a

party, but the sacred call of the LAW, of the REPUBLICAN LAW which the people had set up, of the government which Jefferson had pronounced in his inaugural as the WORLD'S BEST HOPE! The standard then unfurled, so far from being a radical party rag, was the great banner—to use Webster's phrase—that Washington planted on the ramparts of the Constitution. What a sublime spectacle, as the people rallied round it! Their blood and toil and tears and suffering have nailed it to the mast. More now than ever it is a high and solemn duty to stand by this flag!

More now, we repeat, than ever before—in promoting enlistments, in supplying money, in supporting the war—is it a duty to stand by the Flag! to sustain the constituted authorities of the country. There is left no choice but between a support of the government and the hell of anarchy. With sorrow do we write that President Lincoln has unmasked and is fairly with the radicals; but with inexpressible pride do we reflect that the bone and sinew that have fought the country's battles have been his political opponents! Never did the great and good government of the Fathers—the Constitution, with the beautiful local government that now secures the priceless boon of peace to every domestic altar in Massachusetts and the North, and with the ever kindling inspiration of nationality—loom up so invaluable as now. No; let there not be so much as a suggestion of going out from the constituted authorities and against them. That would be nearing the bottomless pit of anarchy; that would be to create pools of

brothers' blood in our homes; that would be to add horrors to the horrors that are on us.

It is necessary and vital now that all good men, who are in favor of sustaining President Lincoln as he battles with rebellion and sustains and upholds the government and stands by the Constitution, but who abhor the Jacobin doctrines of the radicals, should unite on the basis of the Constitution and sustain at the ballot-box such candidates as will correct what is usurpation and wrong and firmly sustain what is right and lawful. An opportunity to do this is afforded in the People's Convention. Most earnestly do we hope that this convention will be large, harmonious and efficient, and be crowned with success. Words cannot fitly describe its importance at such an hour as this when the all of community is at stake. Let the revolutionary lava roll on and farewell Constitutional liberty even for the white man! Let the true conservative element prevail, and the horrid scenes of war will soon be over, for then it will be seen to be a war for the Union, the Constitution and the Law; a war simply for the restoration of the national authority; to save the great and good government of the Fathers"

To the like effect is the subjoined letter from Judge Caton, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, in acknowledgment of a despatch announcing that the Democratic State Convention of Illinois had adopted a resolution condemning the proclamation of the President:

SPRINGFIELD, Sept. 24, 1862.

J. O. Glover, Ottawa, Illinois:

"I expected it. I regret the proclamation as an ill-

advised measure. It is a tub thrown to the abolition whale, which may endanger the whole ship. It cannot change the actual status of the negro from what it would be without it. It weakens the hands and lays additional burdens on the shoulders of those who are exerting every energy to support the government in this war, to uphold and support the Constitution, and to suppress this rebellion. May God, in His mercy to our bleeding country and endangered Constitution, grant that it may have no worse results than to meet the disapproval of the Democrats in the free States, whose whole souls are engaged in the prosecution of this war. They cannot be drawn from this support. They will prosecute the war with unyielding energy, while those who have extorted this unwise measure from the President will be clamoring loudly for a peace by separation. Seven months hence you will see these words vindicated.

This country is ours to uphold, and this government is ours to maintain, as much as they are those of the President; and although he has done an unwise and unjustifiable act, it will not warrant or induce us to abandon them, but stimulate us to greater efforts to uphold and vindicate such sacred interests. Whatever the Administration may do, this people will defend and uphold their government and country until the Constitution shall be reestablished over the whole land.

[Signed]

J. D. CATON."

Such is in general the strain of the conservative leaders of the North on this most perplexing and unhappy subject. We hail the fact with deep satisfac-

tion. It is a consoling and inspiring fact. It speaks volumes for the calm discernment and rooted patriotism of the men on whom under Providence the fate of the Republic depends in an especial manner. Let them continue to the end thus wise and firm, and we will show the world yet that man is capable of self-government! And they will so continue. We do not doubt their steadiness.

We quote the comments of able Journals concerning the "freedom of speech," and "freedom of political action," with "abolition devices to suppress it," as follows:

[From the Metropolitan Record—Archbishop Hughes' Organ.]

FREEDOM OF SPEECH—ABOLITION DEVICES TO
SUPPRESS IT.

"It is a favorite dodge of some people now-a-days to endeavor to shut up a man who disagrees with them by accusing him of Secessionism. It is an easy way of getting rid of an argument that one can not answer; it is far easier than convincing an opponent—in fact it is "as easy as lying." But is a man a Secessionist because he desires peace, or deprecates subjugation, or intimates a wish that personal liberty was less restricted? Is he a Secessionist because he is not blind to the discrepancies in official reports, or the shortcomings of Government, the incompetency of a General, or the blunders of a statesman? Is he a Secessionist because he abhors the idea of conquerors and conquered taking the place of fellow-citizens in this Republic, because he wishes for no such union as that of Ireland with England, or Poland with

Russia, on this broad Continent? Is he a Secessionist because he is alive to the wickedness, and absurdity of enslaving white men to set negroes free? Is a man a Secessionist who does not believe our Government infallible, our army invincible and our resources illimitable? Is it Secessionism to hint that our Southern brethren are human beings still, that they have rights which it would be dangerous to disregard, and feelings it would be wise to take into account? Is it Secessionism to admit that they are brave and wary or to doubt that they are so destitute and desponding as it is the fashion to represent them? Is it Secessionism to shrink from taxation, to wish that our Government was more frank in dealing with the people, more desirous of relieving them from the horrors of suspense, more chary of interfering with the liberty of the press and freedom of speech, more economical of public money? Is it Secessionism to long with a longing of which these people have no conception, for the reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the Constitution, on the good old guarantees that satisfied the men of '76? What better are we than they, or what better is the negro now than he was in their day, that he should be made a bone of contention between the sections, a wedge to split up the Republic? Our Revolutionary Fathers never thought of legislating negroes into equality with white men; their sense of right was no more shocked by their exclusion from political privileges than it was by the exclusion of the idiotic, and they were right, for if in the case of the latter, inferiority or intellect is judged sufficient to place the individual below the level of the

race, why is not the same cause sufficient to place an inferior race below the level of a superior?

Is belief in this, Secessionism? We think not, but we have heard men accused of Secessionism for less. It would be well, therefore, to know what constitutes Secessionism. It would be well to know if men are to be dubbed Secessionists because they cannot think as Government thinks, or as every individual officer of the Government, from the Secretary of State down to the lowest patrolman in a police district, thinks. For this is what we are coming to. Meet Abolitionists, or as they prefer to be called just now, Emancipationists, where you will, and presume to assert your right to think for yourself, to criticise with your lips what you condemn in your heart; proceed on the assumption that your right to differ from them is as clear as their right is to differ from you; refuse to accept their say-so as an article of your political creed, and they discern at once that you are a Secessionist.

In our opinion, it is not wise to bandy about such matters recklessly. Disloyalty to the Government should never be assumed, for in a land like ours, under a Government elected like ours, to say that the people are disloyal is to say that the Government is unworthy."

[From the Pittsburg (Penn.) Post.]

FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTION.

"There being apprehension in some quarters of governmental interference in the freedom of political action, is a discouraging indication of the degeneracy of the times; and yet there are so many dangerous schemes hinted at by revolutionary readers that the

most sanguine is not justified in closing his eyes to what may at first appear the remotest danger. But there cannot be any considerable number of American citizens who would sanction governmental interference in elections ; if ever partisan spirit goes so far as that, then we may expect to see the very *stones* rise in mutiny. The mere conception of such an interference is bad enough, and shows how disturbed the public mind is becoming. It is not possible, however, that we shall ever see our rulers interfere to prevent the citizen from quietly exercising his greatest privilege. Better seize the government at once, and establish an absolute despotism upon the *usurped liberties* of the people. That there are individuals in the country who would assist in such an enterprise, provided they were sure of the rewards of chief *conspirators*, there is no doubt ; but never can there be brought about such a state of anarchy or confusion which will be sufficient to blind the people to such designs upon their liberties." The *New York World*, discussing the possibility of what we have been speaking remarks that :

‘ Grave apprehensions have arisen, within the last day or two, of an attempt to stifle political discussion and suppress that perfect freedom of political action which the people of this country have always heretofore enjoyed, and without which the form of popular elections would be a bitter and degrading mockery. It is incredible that we are in any such danger. It is incredible that the Government would meditate, or that a manly and courageous people would for a single day *submit* to any abridgement of this freedom

of elections, or of the free canvassing necessary for placing the questions in issue fairly before the people. The American people would dishonor their *manhood* and their *lineage* if they were capable of supposing these rights in serious danger. It is true there are some few *cravens* and some few presses among us possessing no proper sense of the inestimable value of the right. Those who would tolerate the suppression of *free speech*, even in a seditious fanatic like Wendell Phillips, are not sufficiently in sympathy with the great American heart to understand that the right about whose infringement they talk with such flippancy can never be in any real danger in this country. It is only men of *feeble courage* and a *feeble sense of justice* that can have any apprehensions on this score. All other American *citizens know* that they *will exercise* this inalienable right. There is not hemp enough on the continent to hang half of those who will always express their *opinions* as freely as they breathe the air. There need be no fears that freedom of political action is in any real danger from governmental interference.'"

In view of the above proclamation being carried out, the issuing of which is so much deplored by sound Constitutional men, those whose dearest and greatest interests bind and obligate them to be instrumental in carrying out the letter and spirit of the Constitution; and in view of freedom to the Southern slaves, may we not quote and hold forth the scene of St. Domingo, where the slaves ceased to be obedient to their masters? The scene is as follows, which

is natural to expect of Southern blacks in a *certain event*:

MASSACRE OF THE WHITES BY THE NEGROES OF ST. DOMINGO, AT THE CLOSE OF THE LAST CENTURY.

"The bloodiest picture in the Book of Time."

THE MASSACRE COMMENCED.

"It was on the morning of the 23d of August, 1791, just before day, that a general alarm and consternation spread throughout the town of the Cape. The inhabitants were called from their beds by persons who reported that all the negro slaves in the several neighboring parishes had revolted, and were at that moment carrying death and desolation over the adjoining large and beautiful plain to the north. The Governor and most of the military officers on duty assembled together, but the reports were so confused and contradictory as to gain but little credit. As daylight began to break, the sudden and successive arrival, with ghastly countenances, of persons who had with difficulty escaped the massacre, and flown to the town for protection, brought a dreadful confirmation of the fatal tidings.

The rebellion first broke out on a plantation called Noe, in the parish of Acul, nine miles only from the city. Twelve or fourteen of the ringleaders, about the middle of the night, proceeded to the refinery or sugar-house, and seized on a man, the refiner's apprentice, dragged him to the front of the dwelling-house, and there hewed him into pieces with their cutlasses. His screams brought out the overseer, whom they instantly shot. The rebels now found their way to the apartment of the refiner, and mas-

sacred him in his bed. A young man lying sick in his chamber was left apparently dead of the wounds inflicted by their cutlasses. He had strength enough, however, to crawl to the next plantation, and relate the horrors he had witnessed. He reported that all the whites of the estate which he had left were murdered, except only the surgeon, whom the rebels had compelled to accompany them, on the idea that they might stand in need of his professional assistance. Alarmed by this intelligence, the persons to whom it was communicated immediately sought their safety in flight.

The revoltors (consisting now of all the slaves belonging to that plantation) proceeded to the house of Mr. Clement, by whose negroes they were immediately joined, and both he and his refiner were massacred. The murderer of Mr. Clement was his own postillion, (coachman), a man to whom he had always shown great kindness. The other white people on this estate contrived to make their escape.

At this juncture the negroes on the estate of M. Faville, a few miles distant, likewise rose and murdered five white persons, one of whom (the attorney for the estate) had a wife and three daughters. These unfortunate women, while imploring for mercy of the savages on their knees, beheld the husband and father murdered before their faces. For themselves, they were devoted to a more horrid fate, and were carried away captives by the assassins.

The approach of daylight served only to discover the sights of horror. It was now apparent that the negroes of all the estates in the plain acted in con-

cert, and a general massacre of the whites took place in every quarter. On some few estates, indeed, the lives of the women were spared; but they were reserved only to gratify the brutal appetites of the ruffians, and it is shocking to relate that many of them suffered violation on the dead bodies of their husbands and fathers!

THE STANDARD OF THE NEGROES—THE BODY OF A WHITE
INFANT.

In the town itself the general belief for some time was that the revolt was by no means as extensive, but a sudden and partial insurrection only. The largest sugar plantation on the plains was that of Mons. Gallifet, situated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with such kindness and liberality, and possessed so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression among the lower white people, in speaking of any man's good fortune, to say *il est heureux un negre de Gallifet*, (he is as happy as one of Gallifet's negroes). Mons. Odeluc, the attorney or agent for this plantation, was a member of the General Assembly, and being fully persuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither, to encourage them in opposing the insurgents, to which end he desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly, but, on approaching the estate, to his surprise and grief, he found all the negroes in arms on the side of the rebels, and (horrid to tell!) their stand-

ard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake! Mons. Odeluc had advanced too far to retreat undiscovered, and both he and his friend who accompanied him, with most of the soldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three of the patrol escaped by flight, and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.

MANSIONS AND CANE FIELDS SET ON FIRE.

By this time, all or most of the white persons had been found on several plantations, being massacred or forced to seek their safety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the sword for the torch. The buildings and cane-fields were every where set on fire, and the conflagrations, which were visible from the town in a thousand different quarters, furnished a prospect more shocking and reflections more dismal than fancy can paint or powers of man describe.

Consternation and terror now took possession of every mind, and the screams of the women and children running from door to door, heightened the horrors of the scene. All the citizens took up arms, and the General Assembly vested the Governor with the command of the National Guard, requesting him to give such orders as the urgency of the case seemed to demand. One of the first measures was to send the white women and children on board the ships in the harbor, very serious apprehensions being entertained concerning the domestic negroes within the town: a great proportion of the ablest men among them were likewise sent on shipboard and closely guarded.

There still remained in the city a considerable body of free mulattoes, who had not taken, or affected not to take, any part in the disputes between their brethren of color and the white inhabitants. Their situation was extremely critical, for the lower class of whites, considering the mulattoes as the immediate authors of the rebellion, marked them for destruction; and the whole number in the town would undoubtedly have been murdered without scruple, had not the Governor and the Colonial Assembly vigorously interposed and taken them under their immediate protection. Grateful for this interposition in their favor, (perhaps not thinking their lives otherwise secure,) all the able men among them offered to march immediately against the rebels, and to leave their wives and children as hostages for their fidelity. Their offer was accepted, and they were enrolled in different companies of the militia.

A VAIN ATTEMPT TO PUT DOWN THE NEGROES.

The Assembly continued their deliberations throughout the night, amid the glare of surrounding conflagrations. The inhabitants being strengthened by a number of seamen from the ships, and brought into some degree of order and military subordination, were now desirous that a detachment should be sent out to attack the strongest body of the revolvers. Orders were given accordingly, and Mons. de Touzard, an officer who had distinguished himself in the United States service, took the command of a party of militia and the troops of the line. With these he marched to the plantation of Mons. Latour, and at-

tacked a body of about four thousand of the rebel negroes. Many were destroyed, but to little purpose; for Touzard, finding the number of revoltors to increase to more than a centuple proportion of their losses, was at length forced to retreat. The Governor, by the advice of the Assembly, now determined to act for some time solely on the defensive; and as it was every moment to be apprehended that the revoltors would pour down upon the town, all the roads and passes leading into it were fortified. At the same time an embargo was laid on all the shipping in the harbor—a measure of indispensable necessity, calculated as well to obtain the assistance of the seamen as to secure a retreat for the inhabitants in the last extremity.

To such of the distant parishes as were open to communication, either by land or by sea, notice of the revolt had been transmitted within a few hours after advice of it was received at the Cape, and the white inhabitants of many of those parishes had therefore found time to establish camps, and form a chain of posts; which, for a short time, seemed to prevent the rebellion from spreading beyond the northern province. Two of these camps were, however, attacked by the negroes—who were here openly joined by the mulattoes—and forced with great slaughter. At Don-don the whites maintained the contest for seven hours, but were overpowered by the infinite disparity of numbers, and compelled to give way, with the loss of upward of one hundred of their body. The survivors took refuge in the Spanish Territory.

These two districts therefore—the whole of the

rich and extensive plain of the Cape,—together with the contiguous mountains, were now wholly abandoned to the ravages of the enemy, and the cruelties which they exercised on such of the miserable whites as fell into their hands can not be remembered without horror, nor reported in terms strong enough to convey a proper idea of their atrocity.

THE HORRORS INCREASE—WHITE MEN SAWED ASUNDER.

They seized Mr. Blen, an officer of the police, and having *nailed him alive* to one of the gates of his plantation, chopped off his limbs, one by one, with an ax.

A poor man named Roberts, a carpenter by trade, endeavoring to conceal himself from the notice of the rebels, was discovered in his hiding-place. The savages declared he should die in the way of his occupation. Accordingly they bound him between two boards, and deliberately sawed him asunder.

Monsieur Cardineau, a planter of Grand Riviere, had two natural sons by a black woman. He had manumitted them in infancy, and bred them up with great tenderness. They both joined in the revolt—and when their father attempted to divert them from their purpose by soothing language and pecuniary consideration, they took his money and then stabbed him to the heart.

All the white, and even the mulatto children whose fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception, frequently before the eyes or clinging to the bosoms of their mothers. Young women of all ranks were first violated by a whole troop of

barbarians, and then generally put to death. Some of them were indeed reserved for the further gratification of the lust of the savages, and others had their eyes scooped out with a knife.

DAUGHTERS RAVISHED IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR
FATHERS.

In the parish of Limbe, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by a savage ring-leader of a band, who ravished his eldest daughter *in his presence*, and delivered over the other to one of his followers. Their passion being satisfied, they murdered both the father and the daughters.

In the frequent skirmishes between the foraging parties sent out by the negroes (who, after having burned every thing, were in scarcity of provisions,) and the whites, the rebels seldom stood their ground longer than to receive and return one single volley; but they appeared again the next day, and though they were at length driven out of their intrenchments with infinite slaughter, yet their numbers seemed not to diminish. As soon as one body was cut off another appeared, and thus they succeeded in harassing and destroying the whites by perpetual fatigue, and by reducing the country to a desert."

TWO THOUSAND PERSONS MASSACRED.

To detail the various conflicts, skirmishes, massacres and scenes of slaughter, which this exterminating war produced, were to offer a disgusting and frightful picture—a combination of horrors, wherein we should behold cruelties unexampled in the annals of man-

kind; human blood poured forth in torrents; the earth blackened with ashes, and the air tainted with pestilence. It was computed that within two months after the revolt first began, *upwards of two thousand white persons, of all conditions, had been massacred*; that one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton and indigo settlements had been destroyed—the buildings thereon being consumed by fire—and twelve hundred Christian families reduced from opulence to such a state of misery as to depend altogether for their clothing and sustenance on public and private charity! Of the insurgents it was reckoned that upward of ten thousand had perished by the sword or by famine, and some hundreds by the hand of the executioner!

In our judgment, with the desire to exercise common sense in thought and action, there is no subject so sacred; there is no man so holy or devout in appearance; there is no *body* of men so high; there is no act so binding; and there is no power so commanding; that each should not be brought home to *reason, cool and deliberate reason*; and if good or bad in their tendencies, let the world know it, for their *approbation or disapprobation*!

In principle and in faith, we are no secessionists; neither are we in spirit or in fact; nor are we the least *tinctured* with Abolition doctrines, believing that both of these doctrines, in spirit and in fact, would destroy the best form of government ever devised by man for his prosperity and happiness; but we are strict and literal conformists to the Constitution of

*the United States, *without* the right of *invading* on *reserved rights* and *old* and *established usages*.

If we are the means of creating a being, such as human, or instrumental, for the preservation of our lives and property, and to ensure the pursuit of happiness, it is natural for that being, let it be in any form, to struggle for life, using all its vital powers, and to sell all it has as dear as possible, according to constitutional powers. Otherwise, it subverts its own principles, and becomes the basis of anarchy and tyranny. The subjects which engross our pen in this dissertation are ones of the most vital importance to the well-being of the South in their onward prosperity and happiness; and if the South is not prosperous and progressive, can the East, or West, or North be prosperous and progressive for any time to come? Let men of reason and good common sense act on these suggestive hints, and do away with isms and impracticabilities, and we shall have an *America united*, and proud as the eagle in her bearing, to that point of national distinction, which places at defiance the world besides!

In this dissertation, it occurs to us that we have clearly defined our constitutional sentiments, which are with those fathers whose geniuses reasoned from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, in the happy blending together of their political sentiments in order to have formed that noble and God-like *compact*, which has nearly borne us down, most *majestically* and magnificently, to this period of time. Certainly this grand march towards progress in then a wilderness must have received the acquiescence of a "Deity

believed," or we should not have beheld his smiles and approbations, manifested in every department of life, as well in agriculture as in the arts, as well in commerce as in the sciences. Little is known in history with reference to the subject of slavery running into prejudices and isms till the period of the American Revolution, though the Quakers, as a sect, have ever been opposed to it, and consequently opposed to the organic order of creation, as related by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis. Isms had not then begun to grow on the subject to any extent; for the slave trade was fully open, and the Northerners made large profits in that most lucrative commerce, in the form of carriers; and to far the greatest extent, they were the very purchasers and sellers of what now thousands of their descendants unite in saying that it is a foul curse upon the nation! A curse brought on by whom? It is ever a pleasant reflection to think of progress and intelligence, and to see these two twin brothers of charity and benevolence rise into being and grow into manhood. It has been exceedingly pleasant for us to have contemplated as we have thus far in our work, the natural and astonishing development of the progress and intelligence of the American people; though these attributes of the *highest order*, as espied from the creation, are contemplated and possessed by few; therefore, we cannot call that man or woman progressive and intelligent who cannot comprehend any more than the ordinary branches of an education. They only possess the means of advancing, and become progressive and intelligent only inasmuch as they do advance into

the study of the natural sciences which govern the universe. These natural sciences are mathematics, as applied to the earth and the celestial bodies, natural philosophy, physiology, ethnology, zoology, astronomy, botany, anatomy, chemistry, geography, mineralogy, geology, the law of electricity, the architecture of birds and insects, and the law of gravitation, with the law governing the centripital and centrifugal forces in bodies. These studies should be pursued by every one having the least pretension to progress and intelligence; and by *these*, and in *reasoning* by comparison and analogy with reference to those things, whether inanimate or animate, which we do understand from ocular demonstration before us each day, in the birth of plants and animals, with what we do not so fully understand, except from this process of drawing our deductions, we are enabled to arrive at just conclusions as to the order of creation and the laws, which God, in his manifest *designs*, intended for the government of man. These natural laws governing inanimate and animate matter below man, and in relation to man, we see most evidently displayed in the principles of production from the meanest inanimate matter to the animate matter in man. For each production under a class has implanted in it the germ of reproduction, in resemblance to the original, which the most fanatic worshipers of negroes cannot deny; as for instance, if one of these dementated Abolitionists should plant corn; what would he expect the organic law would or should yield him? corn, or wheat, or barley? etc., etc., through the whole line of inanimate matter? In the

study of the natural sciences, we discover the *organic law* implanted in every class of inanimate and animate matter, with all the organs of life, to germinate each its kind, and from *this law* we deduce the law of motion, gravitation, specific gravity, and that of the centripital and centrifugal force in bodies, which become animated by electricity. This pervades all matter, and excites an affinity and fellowship with that matter of its own congeneric kind. Otherwise, the works of nature would be impure, and abound in hybrids, which would contravene the *order of creation*, and the most imperative *commands* of God. Whatever we behold so mean on the earth, we discover by physical experiments, that each class have the organs of reproduction in their kind, and that all matter is governed by organic law, which God instituted in bodies in the march of his creation, through each of the three kingdoms. So far as we have been able to discover by researches, all matter throughout the three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, till we come to bipeds, obeys the organic law in reproduction and in motion; and rising still higher in the scale of matter, till we soar, by the most powerful telescopes, to *dwell* among the *celestial bodies*, we see the same *organic law* governing their motions as when first created, for each, in its orbit, revolves with that exactness in motion which the most finished mathematician could possibly expect.

By the means of the physical sciences, the white man has before him the chart of the organic law in bodies of any form whatsoever, and it is by studying this law governing matter consisting of bodies, that

we can deduce a proper law, adapted to our organization and government. In this consists our progressive intelligence, and without this adoption of organic law, ever just and wise, for our government on earth, what are we above the brute creation? or inanimate matter? In choosing men to preside over us, as high *officials*, who are not well versed in the natural sciences, in the way of studying not only the best authors, but by the contemplation of their application to the government of man, as founded on organic law, we elect the brute, rather than the man, created in the image and after the likeness of his Creator! This is a melancholy fact in this age of reason and common sense; we see it in every hamlet, village, and city in the United States. The ignorant *bull dogs* are preferred to men of mind and intelligence! A *most degenerate age*! How long will matter in the form of *tender humanity* last or stand such degeneracy, such departures from the order of creation! To an offended God this *humanity* will plead and appeal for a dethronement of such degeneracy in man, and the restoration of organic law, which governs mankind according to the form of our wise Constitution, molded in its organization after that of the earth, as heretofore remarked.

Thus far, in this dissertation, it has been our province to touch upon the intelligence and enterprise of Americans, and upon slavery as it seems to exist to most of the world, without searching into the formation of original matter. It is generally thought that it is a control or authority exercised by brute force, not given by any higher authority, than man assumes

for his own special interest. The further object of this work will be to prove that God controls this institution in the same manner as he controls any specific object of his creation; and hence we feel fully prepared to unfold the reasons for our believing slavery to be a Divine institution, which no less than a genius in the philosophy of reason will discover to the world, and set its thinking aright on this important and progressive subject. It is the clearness of reason that discovers truths to the world, which would otherwise lie hidden, and rob the world of its most material prosperity, if it could be silenced by atheism! This we should spurn, as the fell demon that rebelled against heaven! Our proof of slavery mainly lies in the first and fourth chapter of Genesis, the principles of which we shall endeavor to fully unfold, and also in the Constitution of the United States.

PART II.

COLLATERAL PROOF OF SLAVERY FROM THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS, AND PROOF AS FOUNDED ON ORGANIC LAW.

The object of words is the designation of ourselves and *what we see* in contradistinction to others, and their assemblage into sentences for the purpose of being conveyed to other persons, which serve, according to the usages of individuals and nations, as a medium of intercourse.

Words in a sentence have a signification, if properly applied; and according to usages and meanings attached to words at this age of reason and common sense, no words can be used to signify both *black* and *white*, *yellow* and *blue*, *green* and *red*, at the same time; for if they did, there would be such ambiguity and circumlocution in expressions, that when we should tell a servant to do one thing, the opposite would be done, and thus it would be throughout our whole intercourse with our fellow-man.

Our object in these expressions is to show conclusively that our Great Parent had a *design* in our *creation*, and in the words he saw fit to let come down to our understandings, and that we *must* be *governed* by them in ascertaining his *will* and *power*, or the *whole* is *nothing*!

The first chapter of Genesis is full of meaning ac-

according to the *words chosen* to express that meaning, and hence in *reasoning* from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, the writer Moses, being an inspired man, wrote, we conclude, according to his inspiration by the Almighty, that man might know the manner of his workmanship!

Though ironically, the nation has been *dreaming* since its formation, and the colonies were from the year 1620, up to the time our national compact was formed, with respect to their *acts of inhumanity* to the negroes of Africa, still when we *awoke* from our *slumbers the other day*, and read the first chapter of Genesis written by Moses, we feel, without *reading another*, that the sin of slavery is washed from our hands, and that a just God will pronounce no sentence of condemnation on those holding slaves.

It may be, to prove our position beyond controversy, and according to natural history whose order is laid down, necessary to quote each verse of the first chapter of Genesis, endeavoring to give the *object and design* of God in his workmanship.

It is generally admitted that the Bible is the word of God by sound and logical reasoners, and that this Divinity exist as he may, is considered Omniscient, Omnipotent and Omnipresent. Bearing these Divine attributes in mind with reference to our God, we most naturally, logically, physically, and philosophically, conclude that He never created *any thing in vain*, but for a *wise purpose*,—there was a *design* in view, and this is clearly manifest, as well in the *ant*, or *moth*, as in *man*! By the principles of natural philosophy, by those of physiognomy, and physiology, we have

proved and will prove the *existences* of *colors* to be purely distinct in their formations from the whites. If the influence of climate would have any effect to change these subordinate and inferior *existences* to white, why would not the Indians of America, long before this, have become as white as we are? living as many of them have, in the most temperate portions of the earth. Are the Esquimaux Indians white, or are they changing to whiteness? Are the Tartars, and Chinese, and Japanese as white as we are? or are they changing to whiteness? Most of these nations live in the temperate zones, and their colors are now as they were from the earliest time we have any mention of them. Were these changes admissible for one moment, as the *ignorant*, and *stupid*, and *blind* imagine;—show us then at this juncture of time, any distinct races of colors! The Indians would have lost their physiological features in *color*, from such changes in nature: hence there would be no characteristics among them, at present, in color, representing their progenitors. And thus it would be, most assuredly, the case with reference to all existences of colors. From the designs of God in the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis, we shall prove, from facts and the light of reason, that all existences of colors were created before man, and that the white man was afterwards created;—that ‘the man and the female’ God commanded, ‘Have dominion etc., etc., etc.,’ and that this means the existence of power over an inferior, with reference to which, God has given us no choice, except we *rebel* against this *command*, in terms most absolute!

Against this order of Creation which will be fully shown to the reader in our comments on the first chapter of Genesis, we defy the most astute reasoner to overthrow our principles and deductions, if they acknowledge this chapter to be the faithful narration of the creation. If they believe not in the Bible, they will believe not in God, and hence, there can be no reason, nor argument with them.

In the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis, Moses says, "In the beginning, God created the Heaven and the earth." In this workmanship, there was *design*, and an *object* which we shall presently see. There was an evident manifestation of power, and will coupled with *intelligence* and *knowledge*, also in this workmanship.

In the second verse *he* says: "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." From the expressions in this verse, we should conclude that the earth was in a semi-aqueous state, and that God yet felt that his *work* was just begun, for all was an abyss of confusion; yet the "face, or surface of the waters" felt his influence; however, *his* act in this changes nothing as yet.

In the third verse, *he* says: "And God said, let there be light: and there was light," In this we see a manifest *design* to change darkness into light by dividing time; however, we see in this no unnatural production or effect, but an *Omnipotent* Power exerting *His Will*.

In the fourth verse, he says; "And God saw the light, that it was good; and God divided the light

from the darkness." From this verse, if words convey any thing, we should conclude that He was pleased with His work, emanating as it must have done, from the necessity of the case to complete *His whole grand design*. Hence, He continued His labors by dividing the light from the darkness. There was an *object* in this, or He would not have done it. It was to *further his good object*.

In the fifth verse *he* says: "And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day." The terms made use of in these expressions convey to our minds what we know to exist from causes and effects which surround us. They were appropriate to the time in the course of the twenty-four hours.

In the sixth verse *he* says: "And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters." To carry out His *whole designs* in His creation, He saw the necessity of this firmament, and He willed it into *existence*; consequently, there was a *design*.

In the seventh verse, *he* says: "And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament, and it was so." In this verse, there is nothing but a clear manifestation of his will and power to carry out other objects, requisite to the *whole creation*.

In the eighth verse, *he* says: "And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and morning were the second day." In this, we see the designation of names for specific objects.

In the ninth verse, *he* says: "And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so." This verse shows the exertion of His power, and the control over what He had made.

In the tenth verse he says: "And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters called he seas; and God saw that it was good."

Here we see the formation of land as distinct from water, which was made for a further object; and of the waters into seas for all the objects, of which they are now capable. In this verse *futurity* was *marked out*.

In the eleventh verse he says: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed and the fruit tree yielding fruit, after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth; and it was so."

In this verse we see that the earth is made to produce grass, herbs and trees; but *observe* that, in the *order of creation*, *each* is made to produce seed of its *own kind*. Therefore, *grass seed* could not produce *oats*, nor *wheat*, nor *barley*, nor *rye corn*, nor a *potato* a *turnip*, nor a *beet* a *raddish*. He pronounced this as He had the other parts of his creation, that "it was so."

In the twelfth verse he says: "And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind; and God saw that it was good."

The comments on the eleventh verse will suffice for this; though, however, we see here, without *much*

exertion to reason, that God pronounced or saw *it was good*, that everything above enumerated should produce after its kind, taking particular precaution that each class of grass, herb and trees, should have the powers of reproduction from their own seeds, showing thereby that he *intended* no *intermixtures*. This showed a *knowledge* of *future consequences*, and that He was *equal* to the *task* before him ; for *nothing* did he *create in vain*.

In the thirteenth verse he says : "And the evening and the morning were the third day." Here we see a day measured, meaning the period of time necessary for the sun to revolve on its own axis, during a portion of which light and darkness prevail under their appropriate significations, day and night. In this view he had in contemplation the sun, moon and stars.

In the fourteenth verse he says : "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night ; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years." In this He created the sun, moon and stars, for all the beneficent purposes we see them turned to ; He knew their influences upon the earth, and that they were indispensable in the economy of creation, as heat must be imparted to all bodies to facilitate production ; for nothing grows among icebergs. Also in this, He contemplates the seasons by the rotary motion of the earth around the sun, knowing the effect produced when she was the greatest distance from him. There was a *purpose* in this, that all parts might receive a *pro rata* benefit, proportioned to the

distance they are situated from the equator. By those lights he divided time.

In the fifteenth verse he says: "And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth; and it was so." This verse is only the echo of the preceding, and its meaning is fully understood by it.

In the sixteenth verse he says: "And God made two great lights; the greater to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also." This is all gathered from the fourteenth verse; and consequently, we see only a change in phraseology, without adding force and eloquence to language.

In the seventeenth verse he says: "And God set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth." This is another form of expression for the substance contained in the fourteenth verse. The objects of these different forms of expressions, to set forth the same intent, were obviously made to impress their weight upon the "man," with reference to this *day's labor*. For it was wonderful, yet not so for Him, who *formed* it.

In the eighteenth verse he says: "And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from darkness; and God saw that it was good." In this verse the functions of those lights are made to continue, with reference to ruling over the day and night, and dividing the light from the darkness. God was pleased with this effect of his workmanship, and saw that "it was good."

In the nineteenth verse he says: "And the evening

and the morning were the fourth day." In this we see a *design* in the enumeration of time, designating it as the fourth day of his workmanship.

In the twentieth verse he says: "And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the *moving creature* that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven." Here we see the first instance of animal life, as adapted to the waters and to the earth. This we shall mention again by *analogy*, and as evidence in *our position*.

In the twenty-first verse he says: "And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good." In this verse, when we test it, we discover that the Almighty was specific with reference to the creation of the animals thus described, for he created each one after *his* class, not with the view that the whale would produce the sea-lion; the codfish the alligator; the shad the oyster; and so on, by analogy in contrasting. Thus far do we see the order of nature perfect. Even He had an eye to the fowls of the air, that each class should produce its own kind, which we *see exemplified everywhere* around us; as the mosquito fly produces its kind, not the bat; the eagle his kind, not the hen; and thus the grand order travels on in perfect harmony with itself: for each class mates by itself, having no cohabitive desire for the other classes. This is natural—it is the law of nature. Otherwise, the *mosquito* might mate with the *ostrich*; and thus dissimilar companionships might be formed throughout

this order; and what an unique and grotesque *sight* it would present to our understandings! "God," in his wisdom, "saw that *this was good*," that is, that each class should produce his own kind.

In the twenty-second verse he says: "And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth." From this verse we must necessarily conclude that the Almighty was much pleased with his performance, inasmuch as He blessed them, and commanded them to be fruitful, desiring a perpetuity of the same animals created thus by *Him*; though this *perpetuity* was ordered to be *separate* and *distinct*, each class *co-operating* with its own, and producing its own kind!

In the twenty-third verse he says: "And the evening and the morning were the fifth day." Thus we see the labors of the great First Cause distinctly considered by days; and by this means we perceive the separate acts of the Almighty in his creation.

In the twenty-fourth verse he says: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth the *living creature* after *his kind*, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth, after his kind: and it was so." This is an important verse, and it may be well for us to ponder deeply its meanings and weight in the creation, or we shall cheat ourselves out of a knowledge and proof of the creation of the whole of the *progressive existences* of *colors*, possessing degrees of humanity. We say *progressive existences*, in contradistinction to *human*, because is any white man or woman willing to admit that any of the tribe of apes or colored ex-

istences possess the same *humanity* as he or she does? In no other part of the Bible have we an account of the creation of the ape tribes and the colored races, except in this word "creature," in this verse. *Ponder* it well, for the creation in this chapter is *finished*, and the *colors* as well as the classes were a portion of that creation, and were finished! The labor of creating everything, whether inanimate or animate, was *finished* during these six days, each made to produce its kind; or otherwise, the ass might have produced the ox through a series of changes, and the mare the elephant, in the same manner. True, in the lower classes of animals we see different colors from their parents; but have we seen from black parents white children? or from white parents black children? or from Indian parents white or black children? or from Chinese parents, black, white, or Indian children? or from the Malay parents, the negro, Chinese, white, or Indian children? In our day, and age of reason and common sense, we have not seen these prodigies of nature; and had they been common during the past ages, however so remote, should we not now and then, have some traces of them presented to our understandings in the form of distinct tribes? Could the line of demarcation have been kept so distinct, with reference to the different races, so long, had it not been so ordered by the Almighty? In his creating of the grasses, the herbs, the trees, the animals in the waters, and the fowls of the air, we discover that each class was made to produce after his kind; and that peculiar care and foresight are exercised to carry out this order of nature. Distinct

classes having been observed in the economy of nature thus far, where else in the Bible have we any right to look for the origins of the colored races, if not in this verse? and to take the word "*creature*" to mean the plurality, or the whole of those *progressive existences* possessed of color?

When Canaan was cursed, not for his own sin of seeing his grandfather naked, but for that of his father, he was not sent into Africa, as many have supposed, but he lived in Asia Minor, where his descendants were long afterwards *known* to be *turning up white*. No mark was put upon him to designate his color from that of his uncles or his brethren, for a curse does not mean a black color. And thus we can gain no clue to the colored races in the ninth chapter of Genesis, verses 24, 25, 26 and 27; nor have we any right to expect any clue to the colored races in this chapter, for the Almighty finished his work in *six days*, in the first chapter of Genesis. Would his work have been *finished* and *pronounced finished in six days*, and then recommenced after the flood in making the *colored existences*? Look at the long lapse of time between the first creation and this supposed creation of the negro or the colored races. The Bible is unquestionably correct, but men's understandings are not always correct, nor are their reasoning faculties generally so. As we can discover no where else the negro or the colored races, or the apes, were created except according to the purport of verse 24, in the first chapter of Genesis, we must conclude that they were *created* before man, and subordinate to him, like all other *inferior* existences of colors. Let reason, O

man! be placed on her throne, and tell the tale, when *skeptics doubt the word of God!*

In the twenty-fifth verse he says: "And God made the *beast* of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind; and God saw that it was good."

The Bible abounds in phrases of repetition, which add nothing explanatory to the preceding or succeeding verse. This is the case as to verse 25, which does not fully explain verse 24, and it advances nothing new; hence we must be governed by those verses that create action, and that bring some new event to light. With such verses, as with geniuses, we see in them a new impression, which gives them weight and importance. Therefore, in this verse, we see nothing which would lead us to change our ideas and impressions as to our comments on verse 24, with reference to "living creature," meaning the existences of colors, as the Mongolian, Indian, Malay and African; nor can we see but that they were created in the order of creation, by a series of God's will, in rising from the first stage of the mineral kingdom, to man, the last stage, of the animal kingdom.

Who pretends to doubt this position, when he surveys, with an eye of a critic and a philosopher, the inferior races who walk the earth erect? Are they of *our flesh* and of *our blood*? *who* can say yea, when he sees the hue *stamped* shortly after the offspring enters the world? If there was any *chance* work in this proceeding of nature, and if there was not *manifest design* on the part of the Almighty in every *distribution* of his *workmanship*, why should we not

notice colored mothers producing children of different colors from their own colors, when their consorts were like themselves? The reason is obvious, that each, whether inanimate or animate, was ordered to produce its own kind! In this we see the wisdom of the Almighty manifested, for when nature *conflicts* against nature in the embrace of animals of distinct classes, whatever their *positions* may be, how *marked* are the effects in deterioration! and how soon, let this be continued, will such *anomalies* be closed from *reproduction*, when they persist in warring against nature? Cattle means whatever is servicable to man, as being of an animate nature, whether for labor or food; and every creeping thing means all else below cattle, in the scale of existence. Thus far "God saw that it (His work) was good."

In the twenty-sixth verse he says; "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." This is another important verse for our consideration, the magnitude of which is insufficiently understood. God beheld all nature smiling and joyous at that juncture of time, and said: Let *us*, that is *myself* and *nature*, make man in our *image*, after our *likeness*. If one should go into the house of a friend, and see a new-born babe, and see marked features on its face resembling his father or mother, how natural is the expression in saying that such a babe is the "image" of its father or mother, and is formed after his or her likeness! This

act of the Almighty would pre-suppose *form*, *image* and *likeness* in himself similar to man, whom he had thus created. It would be natural for man, in this case, to resemble the *superior power*; and hence we conclude that man is the type of the Almighty, not that of nature in general. This is a natural, philosophical, and physiological conclusion, to be deduced from the words embraced in this verse, now under review.

There is no account of but one man being created in this verse, but the word *them* is explained in the preceding verse in alluding to male and female. Can we suppose for one moment, carrying ourselves back to this grand juncture of time, ever so memorable in the creation, that the Almighty possessed two or more images or likenesses, by which we mean, in plain language, colors as well as forms? If the plurality of the human family is meant by the term *man*, meaning one of each of the races, which is absurd in itself, we have no account of but one female, who was created at the same time that the first man was, or in conjunction with him; for we obtain our knowledge of her in the same verse we have any intimation of him—the first man; and the commandment as to their course of action runs together, devolving as much on her as on him, to perform each, her and his respective part. This is plain, unequivocal language. Consequently man, the white man, whose thoughts soar to heaven and tell, with unerring certainty, the coming of comets, and bring worlds to this earth, was created in the *image* and after the *likeness* of the Almighty; and we have abundant proofs of our race being as distinct now as

then, from the other races, arising from peculiar *national characteristics*, and from the arts and sciences, which establish our civilization and enlightenment above that of the other races.

If the Mongolians, Malays, Indians and Africans, called in this work "the progressive existences of color," were created equal with the white race, and if God had intended to have had them so, and not as they are, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," he has been an inconsistent and an unjust God since He created them: for at the time of their creation, he could have molded them like us in intellect and shape of head, if he had not wished to have molded them otherwise like us; but it is evident that this was not done with the negro, nor with the other progressive existences of color, for if it had been, their progress and destiny in the arts and sciences would have not been dissimilar to our own; and they would have made their mark in creation, as the white race has done. Does natural or civil history tell us of their advancements and progress to civilization and enlightenment, except as they come in contact with the whites, when we take a survey of the colored nations, the petty colored tribes, and the white nations that live on the globe?

If the Chinese and Japanese, or the Hindoo, or any oriental nation, indicate a high civilization, to us it is lost in such indication; for as yet, we have not caught the *shadow* of it, even in *semblance form*; however, they manifest much ingenuity in many of their manufactured articles, yet this is not of the highest order; it is art, not science.

In the twenty-seventh verse he says: "So God created man in his own *image*, in the *image* of God created He him; *male* and *female* created He *them*." How definite are these words! and how noble and God-like is man thus created! If we have any right to reason at all, or think for ourselves, with reference to our origin, is it to be contradicted or disputed by skeptics, that the *texture* of God, our first great Parent, was not of the finest and most intelligent, such as called forth the creation? as it is not, nor can it be disputed, we conclude man, that is, white man, was created in the *image* of his father, with reference to everything that concerned him, for he had immediate knowledge in naming "all cattle, the fowl of the air, and every beast of the field." If he was like his father in the designation of appropriate names, which showed innate knowledge, he must have been like him in color and form, that would include the word "image." This means more than form; it means some of the essential attributes which are given it by its Original, and in resemblance to it—the Original.

Hence, we must conclude from all we can deduce from verses 26 and 27, that the "man" means the white man, who is to form the ruling *race*, and who is thus created in the *image* and after the *likeness* of his father. The white nations of the earth are the living witnesses of these facts, and will ever serve as memorable monuments in tracing our descent from our great Parent, and in establishing, in our minds, that we are the *chosen ones thus created* to rule the earth! If we were not, why should we foreshadow

it in the march to munificence and enlightenment? In this verse, He created man's mate, for "male and female created He them." It is further obvious that the consort of the "man" was created as above announced, from the reading of the following verse:

In this, the twenty-eighth verse, Moses says: "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing, that moveth upon the earth." In this we see that two are meant, for man was not created an hermaphrodite, with the ability, in this chapter, of perpetuating his own species. It is evident that two distinct persons are meant, one of each gender, with the capability of propagating their kind; or the Almighty would not have commanded them to "multiply and replenish the earth." He knew their ability, and the *order* of nature was *complete*; for from his conceptions sprang designs and wonders, though according to nature!

In this verse, the Almighty gave them, that is, the "man and the female," dominion over the waters and over everything upon the earth. He made them the sole lord and lordess of the waters and the earth; for dominion means a right to exercise a power, a control over a thing, or it means nothing at all. In no other part of the creation in this chapter have we any notice of God's giving dominion to the lower classes of existences; he *reserves it* for *man* and his *consort*, who are the noblest and the last specimens of his workmanship. This is evident from the read-

ing of the verse under consideration. Wherefore, we must conclude that we have conferred on us, by the power and will of the Almighty, the *dominion*, that is, the authority given us at the time of the creation, to direct, guide, control and subdue all else in the waters and on the earth, that is, make them subservient to our *purposes* and *wills*! Or otherwise, there would have been no object in giving the dominion, as it was not *sought, but given*! Could there have been races created after man, or distinct races created with him, according to the remaining verses in this chapter, or to this verse? We certainly have no account of such events, and we must be content with what we have in our possession, and with what is discoverable to us by the philosophy of reason and common sense.

The order of creation shows pre-knowledge; for "the earth was without form and darkness was upon the face of the deep." If there had not been design in God's workmanship throughout, why would he not have created man first, and so on down, before giving form to the earth? Because it is evident that he would have had no resting place, and nothing to have eaten. God knew man's nature in the future.

The heaven and the earth were the first objects of creation with the Almighty. Light was the second thing created. He knew that it consumed nothing of what he was to *create*; He knew that it would exist by its *material nature*. His division of light from darkness created no consumer unprovided for. He created a firmament, which in itself is no consumer. It existed, and exists as a barrier thus de-

scribed in the act of creation ; in this we see *design*—we see a *master-touch* towards the future. We also see that this order and process of creation or formation are natural, and are thus far self-existent by the matter latent in each. The formation of the waters into one place created no evident consumer ; consequently, everything thus far in creation was wisely provided for : the earth was *formed* by the *division* of the waters, the elements of which were co-existent with what he had created. In the creation of grass, herb and fruit tree, we see that there is a basis for them to grow on, as the earth is already created, with all the elements necessary to their *bed* and *swedling*, at this juncture ; and therefore, they were not *formed in vain* ! A wise provision had been made for them, and consequently a *design* was *manifest*. In this portion of creation God exercised *his* omniscience with reference to all future time, for *He* was specific in *his orders* in the division of the productions of *his* creation. In this *He* foreshadowed *his* wisdom, or else, if intermixtures had been ordered, the earth would, in the process of time, have been overgrown with useless weeds, instead of growths for food. Would *He* have shown as much pre-knowledge, if *He* had created the lower order of animals before *He* had created the earth, or grass, herb and fruit tree ? *He* knew the former must live on the earth, and feed on its productions ; hence the order of creation manifests *infinite wisdom*, and demonstrates a *design* in all of *these doings*. In order to make *these* grow and produce, God creates the lights in the firmament. Had *He* created the *lights first*, they would have had no func-

tions to have performed on the earth ; especially the sun, the great dispenser of light and heat, so necessary to the growth of grass, herb and tree. The seeds which had been created and put in the earth, lay dormant, though swelling to bursting forth ; hence they needed no sun till the next day, when the great dispenser was formed for action, but not in vain !

Earth soon smiled in being beautified with the most happy effects of these latent seeds. In this order, nothing as yet is formed *in vain* ! By the creation of “the moving creature” from the waters, would presuppose that the waters had all the elements of food necessary for their existence, with the influence of the sun, as these could not exist on the earth, nor feed by their natures from its productions. “Moving Creature” is a term used to comprehend specific classes of animals *made* to live in the waters, or amphibious animals, with all their *colors* and *different forms* ;—for *colors* in these are formed in the same manner as in the higher scale of creation ; and hence, *color* is a part of creation, as it is incorporated with every object of *sight* or *touch*. Had “the moving creature” been created prior to the sun, for the want of heat on the waters to create *growths* for their food, they would have perished of hunger ; for food is necessary for them. In this we see pre-knowledge and wisdom displayed in all this workmanship. In the creation of these animals of the waters, there is no *chance work* ; they all come from the term “*moving creature*,” a noun of multitude, with all of their varied *classes* and with all their *shades of colors* ; for does the *rete mucosum*, which is under the cuticle of the human family,

and of the progressive *existences* of *colors* and which reflects the distinctions in colors between the human family and the progressive existences of colors, come by chance; or does the coloring in the skin of the water animals come by chance? which distinguishes the one class from the other?

If this which is so *important* in characterizing *colors*, is the workmanship of chance, why is not *light* the same? for in each we see an evident *design*, a *wise design* for the white race; for their white color alone makes them feel God-like, and look with *scorn* on *existences* of other *colors*, though *admitting*, they possess some of the attributes of man, *proportioned* to the *sphere* they were created to fill in the *scale of being*. If there had not been a *purpose* with God in his creation, why did he create the *fowl* of the air after he had *created* the *grass*, the *herb* and the fruit tree? God pre-knew that *they* would be *consumers* of the *products* of the *earth*; and consequently, they must have something to consume. Does this not, our dear skeptics, foreshadow a wise pre-knowledge?

In his creating of "*the living creature, cattle, creeping thing, and beast,*" we see most *evident marks* of Omniscience. With reference to *life* and *motion*, we see no difference between the terms "*moving creature* and *living creature,*" for an existence could not move without living, nor could he live without moving. But the difference consists in the mode of application; for the term "*moving creature*" presents itself, with reference solely to the *animals* created from the waters; while the term *living creature*, by analogy and comparison with the former term, presents itself with

reference solely to the *existences* of *colors* created from the earth, subordinate and inferior to man. If the former term has produced so many varied animal *existences* from the *waters*, which the most stupid do not question, why should not the latter term be equally as prolific and bounteous in producing the progressive existences of *colors*, or *those* bearing a resemblance to "the man;" though subordinate and inferior? when we see a wise provision made in the twenty-fourth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, for all animals walking on all fours, in the terms, "*cattle, creeping thing, and beast,*" without the term *living creature*. The Creation was finished and completed in six consecutive days, and if we can not, in reasoning by comparison between the term "moving creature and living creature," deduce the *existences* of *colors* walking erect, from the latter term, in the same manner as we do and must the fish, reptiles, and monsters, moving in the waters from the former term, where in the order of creation can we place them without *subjecting* ourselves to *militate* on the laws of nature and the principles of physiology? God has *formed nothing in vain!* If all the *existences* including *man* were created from our common parentage, we should see no evident work of *design* in our creation, as we see it in the *grass, herb and fruit-tree*; for each of these is made by the *organic law* in *creation*, to produce after *his class* as well as *animals* of the waters, and the *cattle, creeping thing, and beast* of the earth are made to produce after their *classes*, severally. By this form of *comparison* between the *grass, herb, fruit-tree, water animals, cattle, creeping thing, including*

beast;—and the existences of colors, embracing the white man created alone, if there was not as *much design* in creating these *existences of colors*, each after his class and man also after his class, we should discover that God exercised *more design* and *more distinction* in *all* below the *existences of colors*, and *man*, than *he* did in these; hence this *part of creation*, if we should take the received notions of stupid donkies, was not ordered to produce *each his kind*; consequently the *rete mucosum*, which, under the cuticle in the human family, and the progressive *existences of colors* is a spongy, and porous membrane, containing the coloring *fluid*, came by *chance*, and manifests no *design*, which would conclusively prove, that *colors* came peradventure; consequently under the same law of production, progressive *existences*, and *man*, came by chance; for if one part of them, that is the *coloring part*, which distinguishes them apart at a glance, came by chance, why not the whole part? If an artist should agree to take your likeness, and draw the external figure, giving the full outlines, without giving it color to distinguish you from *existences of colors*, would your likeness be *finished* and *complete*? Hence upon the same principle of reasoning, would the likeness reflecting the *existences of colors*, and our race, have been *finished* and *completed* by God, had *he* not *formed us all* at the time of our creation with that *rete mucosum* containing the distinct coloring fluids? This is a parallel case; it is brought home to our understandings by the light of reason and common sense. And will ye, Oh ye skeptics, cavil at the order of creation, when ye see truth

brought home so plainly to your understandings, except ye *will be blind* in spite of reason's light. Ye see the *abyss of Hell* before you; but ye have not *manly independence* enough to renounce *your sins* against God and *his* Divine Institution, and hence ye would drag all *creation* to the same *abyss of ruin and despair*, as ye must *inhabit*! With reference to the *coloring fluid* contained in the *rete mucosum*, under the cuticle of the human being, and *existences of colors*, we see that of the white race bears an *affinity* for the *white race*; and consequently they generate together, live together, and form governments by conventional agreements with each other, and look upon all *existences of colors* as subordinate and inferior; for what white person, having been well educated, would, even within the walls of his own house, where none but himself and family could see, sit at table or sleep with an *existence of color*, except he did it for *bunkum*? and to force an unnatural equality, to gain a nefarious political end? We see, in the African, the Polynesian, the Mongolian, and the Indian, his coloring fluid bears the same affinity for each specific class as that did in the Caucasian race just mentioned; and consequently, the affinity in coloring causes the affinity for generating with each other, in contradistinction with those not of the same color; and this natural law of preference as to generating with a class of the same color, pervades the whole creation as ordered by the Almighty, or it would not be so. And its being so in the whole of the inanimate creation, and the animate creation below the *existences of color*, and man, would it show a *wise design* in the order of creation by the

Almighty, to have not created the same distinctions, in the upper order of creation, making each to generate after his class? and is it supposable for a moment, that God was not as *mindful* of the *creation* of the *existences* of *colors*, and man, causing each to generate after his class, as he was in the creation of the inanimate, and the low *animal order* of *creation*? If *he* was not, God is a partial God, and does not foreshadow *his* Omniscience! and would show the characteristics of a man, rather than the attributes of *himself*!

The creation of man and his consort was the last great act of God, and through the inspiration of Moses as recorded in the Hebrew language, we have all the several terms representing the creation; and the most of them are made to imply a noun of multitude. We see before us what the order of creation has produced, and we do not believe it to be *chance work*, or there would have been no *design*; and consequently, the creation would have been as likely to have been one *thing* as *another*. The seeds,—as corn, wheat, and barley, were among the first of the organic seeds organized, with a *design* to sustenance; and when we see the smut in any of these, we behold it come by chance, a freak of nature, not by *design*,—the work of God, as our *humble, sinful, loving Abolitionists* would gladly lead us to *suppose*: for it is of no use, therefore a *prodigy* of nature without *design*; and if we should admit that there was a *design* of God in turning this grain to smut, we should be forced to admit that he created matter *in vain*, which would belie the works of God! Wherefore, we must

conclude that the white race was created under the term man; and man *especially* so, for if we should admit that the "man" was a red man like an Indian, we should make the white race smut in comparison with the terms, corn, wheat, and barley, when turned to smut, a prodigy of nature—the work of chance! Oh, ye skeptics, ye idolators! when will ye learn wisdom by age, polluted and contaminated as ye are by your own self-conceit and corruption? when ye call slavery no Divine Institution, ye behold your *martyred God* in your own perversity of will, and in self-contradiction, to the *command* of the Almighty. Every thing which we behold indicates, on the part of God in *his* creation, a perfect *design* that pervades the whole inanimate and animate nature. Consequently, there is no *design* on the part of God in the production of prodigies, but it is a combination of fortuitous circumstances, which soon end, in non-production.

In the twenty-ninth verse, he says: "And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat." Therefore we discover what *He* intended, in part, should be for the subsistence of man. With reference to the understanding of this verse, no further comments are necessary.

In the thirtieth verse he says: "And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat."

and it was so." In this we see the subsistence intended for the lower and the lowest class of animal existence; and in giving us dominion over all lower animal life, he has pointed out in our natures, in our likes, and in our dislikes, what food or meats among these classes would be the most befitting to promote our strength and digestion. We cannot feed on man, for nature repels the desire. It is never thought of among the white race, even in the most savage state. We cannot bear in mind any point of history where man's feeding on his fellow-man was a usage; however, it has occurred in some *severe cases* of hunger, as when parties have been wrecked at sea, and have saved themselves in small boats, by choosing lots, who should be killed to feed the balance! In this view, look at *natural history* among the lower classes of the progressive existences, possessing degrees of humanity, and to what extent do we not behold cannibals or anthropophagi give vent to their passions in feeding on their captives taken in war! This is now the usage among most of the negro chieftains of Africa; it was the usage among most of the savages of America; it is the usage among the savages on the islands of the Pacific ocean! Call these *existences* made of our flesh and our blood, and over whom our humanity should *weep* to *tax* their sweat to make them *feel obedient* to the *command* of God! More might we weep over the task and state of the ox, or the *horse*, or the *sheep*; for they feed not by their *perversity*, on their *fellow species*. Call these races, these inferior *races*, as human as we are, in view of their eating their fellow-species, and in

view of our, man's being made in the *image* and after the *likeness* of God? Restore, O reader! reason to her throne, and teach yourself *penetration* and *discrimination*, ere your judgment is formed!

In the thirty-first verse he says: "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day." In this we see that God exercised *vision* not unlike *us*, for he *saw what He had made*, in the same manner as we *see what we make*, and *He pronounced it good*, in the same manner as we *pronounce our workmanship good*. *This indicates that we are of the same humanity as himself.*

In this verse the Great Archetype closes his work, and everything is complete for action; the machinery of the universe has received all its constituent parts, either inanimate or animate; and natural philosophy clearly demonstrates that there has been no change in the quantity of matter since the creation, for each part was then located, in order to balance the earth in her orbit!

In the first verse of the second chapter of Genesis, Moses says: "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them." This verse has specific reference to the last verse of the first chapter of Genesis, where the fact is announced that "God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good."

In the second verse of this chapter he says, in the latter part of it: "And God rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made." There is no account of his making anything on this day,

but He seems to have given it up to rest. If a work is finished, made complete, mathematically so, can it again be begun and made over? and if so, what would have been the purpose in changing it with the Almighty, as He foresaw everything, and knew when his work was complete? consequently, afterwards there could have been no change in it, or it would not have been complete, but have been formed *in vain!*

Thus far we have fully demonstrated the positions of the colored races in the scale of creation, if God's work was finished in six days; and there is no account of his having changed his first purpose; for his labors were complete! If he had intended all races to be possessed of the same understandings, their progress, their refinement and enlightenment the same, it would have been as easy to have molded all after himself; but it is evident that it was not. Their organs, their brains, their eyes, their faces, their foreheads, their skulls, their skins, their colors, their hair, their flesh, and their blood, are all different from ours, and bear in most respects a strong resemblance to the lower order of animals. Investigate, reader, for yourself, the principles here thrown out, and let reason, not preconceived notions or prejudices direct you in forming your judgment. We ask only for an impartial trial before the great tribunal of the world, for investigations after truth in this matter, and if we err, it is not the error of the heart.

In support of our position as to the organs of the colored existences, aside from what common sense

should teach every one, we quote Prof. Agassiz's Lecture on Comparative Anatomy, with remarks of Dr. J. C. Nott to the same effect, which says:

"Prof. Agassiz's researches in embryology possess most important bearings on the natural history of mankind. He states, for instance, that, during the foetal state, it is in most cases impossible to distinguish between the species of a genus; but that, after birth, animals, being governed by specific laws, advance each in diverging lines. The dog, wolf, fox, and jackal, for example—the different species of ducks, and even ducks and geese, in the foetal state—cannot be distinguished from each other; but their distinctive characters begin to develop themselves soon after birth. So with the races of men. In the foetal state there is no criterion whereby to distinguish even the Negro's from the Teuton's anatomical structure; but, after birth, they develop their respective characteristics in diverging lines, irrespective of climatic influences. This I conceive to be a most important law; and it points strongly to *specific* difference. Why should Negroes, Spaniards, and Anglo-Saxons, at the end of ten generations (although in the foetal state the same), still diverge at birth, and develop specific characters? Why should the Jews in Malabar, at the end of 1500 years, obey the same law? That they do, undeviatingly, has been already demonstrated." * * * * *

"Prof. Agassiz also asserts, that a peculiar conformation characterizes the brain of an adult Negro. Its development never goes beyond that developed in the Caucasian in boyhood; and, besides other singu-

larities, it bears, in several particulars, a marked resemblance to the brain of the orang-outang. The Professor kindly offered to demonstrate those cerebral characters to me, but I was unable, during his stay at Mobile, to procure the brain of a Negro.

Although a Negro-brain was not to be obtained, I took an opportunity of submitting to M. Agassiz two native-African men for comparison ; and he not only confirmed the distinctive marks commonly enumerated by anatomists, but added others of no less importance. The peculiarities of the Negro's head and feet are too notorious to require specification ; although, it must be observed, these vary in different African tribes. When examined from behind, the Negro presents several peculiarities ; of which one of the most striking is, the deep depression of the spine, owing to the greater curvature of the ribs. The buttocks are more flattened on the sides than in 'other races'; and join the posterior part of the thigh almost at a right-angle, instead of a curve. The pelvis is narrower than in the white race ; which fact every surgeon accustomed to applying trusses on Negroes will vouch for. Indeed, an agent of Mr. Sherman, a very extensive truss-manufacturer of New Orleans, informs me that the average circumference of adult Negroes round the pelvis is from 26 to 28 inches ; whereas whites measure from 30 to 36. The scapulæ are shorter and broader. The muscles have shorter bellies and longer tendons, as is seen in the calf of the leg, the arms, &c. In the Negress, the mammæ are more conical, the areolæ much larger, and the abdomen projects as a hemisphere." * * * *

“If we take a profile view of the European face, and sketch its outlines, we shall find that it can be divided by horizontal lines into four equal parts; the first enclosing the crown of the head; the second, the forehead; the third, the nose and ears; and the fourth, the lips and chin. In the antique statues, the perfection of the beauty of which is justly admired, these four parts are exactly equal; in living individuals slight deviations occur, but in proportion as the formation of the face is more handsome and perfect, these sections approach a mathematical equality. The vertical length of the head to the cheeks is measured by three of these equal parts. The larger the face and smaller the head, the more unhandsome they become. It is especially in this deviation from the normal measurement that the human features become coarse and ugly.

“In a comparison of the Negro head with this ideal, we get the surprising result that the rule with the former is not the equality of the four parts, but a regular increase in length from above downwards. The measurement, made by the help of drawings, showed a very considerable difference in the four sections, and an increase of that difference with the age. This latter peculiarity is more significant than the mere inequality between the four parts of the head. All zoologists are aware of the great difference in the formation of the heads of the old and the young orang-outang. The characteristic of both is the large size of the whole face, particularly the jaw, in comparison with the skull; in the young orang-outang, the extent of the latter exceeds that of the jaw; in the

old it is the reverse, in consequence of a series of large teeth having taken the place of the earlier small ones, which resemble the milk-teeth of man. In fact, in all men, the proportion between the skull and face changes with the maturity of life; but this change is not so considerable in the European as in the African. I have before me a very exact profile-drawing of a Negro boy, in which I find the total height, from the crown to the chin, four inches; the upper of the four sections, not quite nine lines; the second, one inch; the third, thirteen lines; the fourth, fourteen and one-quarter lines. The drawing is about three-quarters of the natural size; and, accordingly, these numbers should be proportionately increased. The strongly marked head of an adult Caffre, a cast of which is in the Berlin Museum, shows a much greater difference in its proportions. I have an exact drawing of it, reduced to two-thirds of the natural size, and I find the various sections as follows: — the first is 11 lines; the second, 13; the third, 15; and the fourth, 18 lines. This would give, for a full-sized head of $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, $15\frac{3}{4}$ lines for the crown; $19\frac{1}{2}$ for the forehead; $22\frac{1}{2}$ for the part including the nose; and 27 lines for that of the jaws and teeth. In a normal European head, the height of which is supposed to be $8\frac{1}{4}$, each part generally measures 2 inches, while the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ may be variously distributed, in fractions, throughout the whole.

“ Any difference of measurement in the European seldom surpasses a few lines, at the most: it is impossible to find a case of natural formation where the difference between the parts of the head amounts, as

in the Caffre, to one inch. I would not assert, that the enormous difference is a law in the Negro race. I grant, that the Caffre has the Negro type in its excessive degree, and cannot, therefore, be taken as a model of the whole African race. But, if the normal difference only amounts to half that indicated, it still remains so much larger than in the European, as to be a very significant mark of distinction between the races, and an important point in the settlement of the question of their comparative mental faculties.

“The peculiar expression of the Negro physiognomy depends upon this difference between the four sections. The narrow, flat crown; the low, slanting forehead; the projection of the upper edges of the orbit of the eye; the short, flat, and, at the lower part, broad nose; the prominent, but slightly turned-up lips, which are more thick than curved; the broad, retreating chin, and the peculiarly small eyes, in which so little of the white eyeball can be seen; the very small, thick ears, which stand off from the head; the short, crisp, woolly hair, and the black color of the skin—are the most marked peculiarities of the Negro head and face. On a close examination of the Negro races, similar differences will be found among them, as among Europeans. The western Africans, from Guinea to Congo, have very short, turned-up lips. They are ordinarily very ugly, and represent the purest Negro type. The southern races, which inhabit Loanda and Benguela, have a longer nose, with its bridge more elevated and its wings contracted; they have, however, the full lips, while their hair is somewhat thicker. Some of the individuals

of these races have tolerably good, agreeable faces. A peculiar arch of the forehead, above its middle, is peculiar among them.

“In the eastern part of Southern Africa, the natives have, instead of the concave bridge of the nose, one more or less convex, and very thick, flat lips, not at all turned-up. The Negroes of the East are commonly more light-colored than those of the West; their color tends rather to brown than to black, and the wings of their noses are thinner. The people of Mozambique are the chief representatives of this race—the Caffres also belong to it. The nose of the Caffre is shorter and broader than that of the others, but it has the convex bridge. The short, curly hair shows no essential deviation. The dark, brownish-black eyeball, which is hardly distinguishable from the pupil, remains constant. The white of the eye has in all Negroes a yellowish tinge. The lips are always brown, never red-colored; they hardly differ in color from the skin in the neighborhood; towards the interior edges, however, they become lighter, and assume the dark-red flesh-color of the inside of the mouth. The teeth are very strong, and are of a glistening whiteness. The tongue is of a large size, and remarkable in thickness. The ear, in conformity with the nose, is surprisingly small, and is very unlike the large, flat ear of the ape. In all Negroes, the external border of the ear is very much curved, especially behind, which is quite different in the ape. This curvature of the ear is a marked peculiarity of the human species. The ear-lobe is very small, although the whole ear is exceedingly fleshy.

The small ear of the Negro cannot, however, be called handsome; its substance is too thick for its size. The whole ear gives the impression of an organ that is stunted in its growth, and its upper part stands off to a great distance from the head."

Also, in support of the same position, we quote Dr. Samuel Geo. Morton's table, showing the size of the brain in cubic inches, as obtained from the measurement of 623 Crania of various Races and Families of *beings*, which is as follows:

RACES AND FAMILIES.		No. of Skulls	Larg't I. C.	Smal't I. C.	Mean.	Mean.	
MODERN CAUCASIAN GROUP.							
<i>Teutonic Family</i> —Germans.....		18	114	70	91	} 92	
“ “ English.....		5	105	91	96		
“ “ Anglo-Americans.....		7	97	82	90		
<i>Pelagic</i> “ Persians.....	}	10	94	75	84	} 85	
“ “ Armenians.....							
“ “ Circasians.....							
<i>Celtic</i> “ Native Irish.....		6	97	78	87		
<i>Indostanic</i> “ Bengalees, &c.....		32	91	67	80		
<i>Semitic</i> “ Arabs.....		3	93	84	89	} 80	
<i>Negritic</i> “ Fellahs.....		5	17	96	66		
ANCIENT CAUCASIAN GROUP.							
<i>Pelagic Family</i> —Græco-Egyptians (catacombs)..		18	97	74	88	} 80	
<i>Negritic</i> “ Egyptians (from catacombs)...		55	95	68	80		
MONGOLIAN GROUP.							
<i>Chinese Family</i>		6	91	70	82		
MALAY GROUP.							
<i>Malayan Family</i>		20	97	68	86	} 85	
<i>Polynesian</i> “.....		3	84	82	88		
AMERICAN GROUP.							
<i>Toltec Family</i> —Peruvians.....		155	101	58	75	} 79	
“ “ Mexicans.....		22	92	67	79		
<i>Barbarous Tribes</i> —Iroquois.....	}	161	104	70	81		
“ “ Lenape.....							
“ “ Cherokee.....							
“ “ Shoshone, &c.....							
NEGRO GROUP.							
<i>Native African Family</i>		62	99	65	83	} 83	
<i>Asiatic-born Negroes</i>		12	89	73	82		
<i>Himalayan Family</i>		3	88	68	75	} 75	
<i>Australian Family</i> —Australians.....		8	83	63	75		

The comments of Dr. J. C. Nott we also quote, which bear upon the question from Dr. Morton's table, and which are as follows:

“Two important facts strike me, in glancing over the Table: — 1st, That the Ancient Pelasgic heads and the Modern White races give the same size of brain, viz.: 88 cubic inches. 2d, The Ancient Egyptians, and also their representatives, the modern Fellahs, yield the same mean, viz., 80 cubic inches. The difference between the two groups being eight cubic inches.

Hence we obtain strong evidence, that time, or climate, does not influence the size of crania; thus adding another confirmation to our views respecting the *permanence* of primitive types. The Hindoos, likewise, it will be observed, present the same internal capacity as the Egyptians. Now, I repeat, that no historical or scientific reason can be alleged, why these races should be grouped together, under one common appellation; if, by such name, it is understood to convey the idea that these human types can have any sanguinous affiliation.

Again, in the *Negro* group — while it is absolutely shown that certain African races, whether born in Africa or in America, give an internal capacity, almost identical, of 83 cubic inches, one sees, on the contrary, the Hottentot and Australian yielding a mean of but 75 cubic inches, thereby showing a like difference of eight cubic inches. Indeed, in a Hottentot cranium, (now at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia,) “pertaining to a woman of about twenty years of age, the facial angle gives

75 degrees; but the internal capacity, or size of brain, measures but 63 cubic inches, which, Dr. Morton remarked, was as small an adult brain (with one exception, and this also a native African) as he had ever met with;" so that, in reality, the average among Hottentots may be still lower.

In the American group, also, the same parallel holds good. The Toltecan family, our most civilized race, exhibit a mean of but 77 cubic inches, while the Barbarous tribes give 84; that is, a difference of seven cubic inches in favor of the savage.

The contrast becomes still more pronounced, when we compare the highest with the lowest races of mankind; viz: the Teutonic with the Hottentot and Australian. The former family show a mean internal capacity of ninety-two, whilst the two latter have yielded but seventy-five cubic inches; or a difference of seventeen cubic inches between the skull of one type and those of two others! Now, it is herein demonstrated, through monumental, cranial, and other testimonies, that the various types of mankind have been ever permanent; have been independent of all physical influences for thousands of years; and, I would ask, what more conclusive evidence could the naturalist demand, to establish a specific difference between any species of a genus?

These facts, too, determine clearly the arbitrary nature of all classifications heretofore invented. What reason is there to suppose that the Hottentot has descended from the same stem as the African Mandingo, or Iolof, any more than from the Samoides of Northern Asia? or the Hindoo from the same stock as the

Teuton? The Hindoo is almost as far removed in structure from the Teuton as is the Hottentot: and we might just as well class reindeer and gazelles together as the Teuton and Hindoo, the Negro and Hottentot. Can any naturalist derive a Peruvian from a Circassian? a Papuan from a Turk?

“The Caucasian differs from all other races: he is humane, he is civilized, and progresses. He conquers with his head, as well as with his hand. It is intellect, after all, that conquers—not the strength of a man’s arm. The Caucasian has been often master of the other races—never their slave. He has carried his religion to other races, but never taken theirs. In history, all religions are of Caucasian origin. All the great limited forms of monarchies are Caucasian. Republics are Caucasian. All the great sciences are of Caucasian origin; all inventions are Caucasian; literature and romance come of the same stock; all the great poets are of Caucasian origin; Moses, Luther, Jesus Christ, Zoroaster, Budha, Pythagoras, were Caucasian. No other race can bring up to memory such celebrated names as the Caucasian race. The Chinese philosopher, Confucius, is an exception to the rule. To the Caucasian race belong the Arabian, Persian, Hebrew, Egyptian; and all the European nations are descendants of the Caucasian race.”

“If the Bible had been so construed as to teach that there were, from the beginning, *many* primitive races of men, instead of one, the psychological grades would doubtless have been regarded by everybody as presenting the plainest analogies when compared with the species of inferior animals. It would have

been allowed at once, that beings so distinct in physical characters should naturally present diversity of mental and moral traits. All the species of *equidæ* exhibit certain habits and instincts in common, whilst differing in others. Amongst carnivora, the felines—such as lions, tigers, panthers, leopards, lynxes, cats—present a unity of moral and intellectual character, so to say, quite as striking as that displayed by the human family; and, scientifically speaking, there is just as much ground, at this point of view, for saying that all the felines are of one “species,” as all the various types of mankind.

Nor can any valid argument be drawn from credence in a God, or in a future state. There exists among human races not the slightest unity of thought on these recondite points. Some believe in one God; the greater number in many: some in a future state, whilst others have no idea of a Deity, nor of the life hereafter. Many of the African, and all of the Oceanic Negroes, as missionaries loudly proclaim, possess only the crudest and most grovelling superstitions. Such tribes entertain merely a confused notion of “good spirits,” whose benevolence relieves the savage from any fatiguing illustration of his gratitude; and an intense dread of “bad spirits,” whom he spares no clumsy sacrifice to propitiate. Did space permit, I could produce historical testimonies by the dozen, to overthrow that postulate which claims for sundry inferior types of men any inherent recognition of *Divine Providence*—an idea too exalted for their cerebral organizations: and which is fondly attributed to them by untravelled or unlettered “Cau-

casians;" whose kind-hearted simplicity has not realized that divers lower races of humanity actually exist uninvested by the Almighty with mental faculties adequate to the perception of religious sentiments, or abstract philosophies, that in themselves are exclusively "Caucasian."

Men and animals are naturally imbued with an instinctive fear of death; and it is perhaps more universal and more intense in the latter than the former. Man not only shudders instinctively at the idea of the grave, but his mind, developed by culture, carries him a step further. He shrinks from total annihilation, and longs and hopes for, and believes in, another existence. The conception of a future existence is modified by race and through education. Like the pre-Celtæ of ancient Europe, the Indian is still buried with his stone-headed arrows, his rude amulets, his dog, etc., equipped all ready for Elysian hunting-fields; at the same time that many a white man imagines a heaven where he shall have nothing to do but sing Dr. Watts' hymns around the Eternal throne.

It matters not from whatever point we may choose to view the argument, unity of races cannot be logically based upon psychological grounds. It is itself a pure hypothesis, which one day will cease to attract the criticism of science."

And still further, we quote Dr. Charles Caldwell's short essay on Comparative Anatomy, from his Work called "Thoughts on the Original Unity of the Human Race," as follows:

"The general diversity between the Caucasian and

the African races, is composed, like other aggregates, of many subordinate ones. It is corporeal and mental. The former consists in differences in color, texture, and figure; the latter, in intellect and moral feeling. The difference in color is almost universally represented to be seated alone in the rete-mucosum. This is a mistake. It is seated in both the rete-mucosum and the cuticle, the latter being considerably darker, as well as thicker, in the African than it is in the Caucasian. Another very important difference between the African and the Caucasian cuticles, to which writers on the subject have paid little or no attention, is that the former consists of *two* laminae, while the latter contains only *one*. The difference of texture consists chiefly in the hair and most of the bones, the former being, in the African, much more harsh and horny, and the latter denser, harder and heavier. The difference of figure arises principally from the shape of the bones, their modes of articulation, and the form of the muscles; to which might be added, the form of the brain, that organ being known to give shape to the skull. The muscular fibre is also coarser in the African, than in the Caucasian race.

As respects the colors of the two races, our analysis shall be brief. The Caucasian is fair and ruddy, and the African black, or of a deep and dusky brown. The ruddiness of the former race arises from the tinge of the blood, contained in the capillary vessels of the true skin, being visible through the rete-mucosum and the cuticle, both of which are very thin, and somewhat transparent. The color of the latter

is produced chiefly by the secretion of a dark pigment, by the vessels of the true skin, and its deposition in the cells of the rete-mucosum. This pigment appears through the cuticle, which, although, as already stated, much thicker and darker than in the Caucasian, is sufficiently transparent to show what is beneath it. In the African, the rete-mucosum is comparatively thick; whence arises the softness of his skin to the touch. When the human skin is examined with a microscope, it exhibits a great number of small sulci, or depressed lines, meeting and intersecting each other at different angles, with elevations between them; the whole resembling somewhat the surface of a bed-quilt. These elevations are much fuller, and in stronger relief, in the African than in the Caucasian. In the former they resemble the interstices of a bed-quilt stuffed; in the latter, without stuffing. The skin of the African generates less heat than that of the Caucasian, and its temperature is therefore lower. We ought rather to say, that it more powerfully and successfully resists the action of heat from without, tending to raise its temperature. It resists a low temperature with less power. Hence the superior fitness of the former for hot climates, and of the latter for cold ones. It is obvious, then, that the whole amount of difference between the skins of these two races is great—much greater, we apprehend, than it is generally supposed to be.

The same is true as relates to the hair, but the precise difference here cannot be adequately made known in words. To be fully understood, it must be seen. The hair of the two races must be examined with a

microscope. The difference in texture and character will then appear not only manifest, but striking. As already stated, the African hair, although smeared with an unctuous and softening secretion, will be found to be harsh, crisp and horny, and rough from a multitude of projecting points. That of the Caucasian, although less unctuous, is much more pliant, soft, and smooth. It is also more distinctly fibrous in its texture than the other. In fact, the two productions are as different from each other, in their general appearance, we might say much more so, than many plants are, which botanists refer to different species.

But the difference between the osseous and muscular systems of the two races, is still more plain and striking, because the parts are larger, and can be more easily examined and compared. In the African, the bones of the head are thicker, more compact, and, therefore, stronger and heavier than in the Caucasian, and the cavity of the cranium smaller. The forehead being narrower and more retreating, the sincipital region is inferior in its capacity, in proportion to that of the occipital. The orbiter cavities are wider and deeper, and the zygomatic processes of the temporal bones larger and more projecting. Although the nose is short and depressed, its cavities are more capacious, and the olfactory nerves are spread over a more extensive surface than in the Caucasian. The upper maxillary bone is much broader and stronger, and projects more forward and outward; and the under one, being also thicker and stronger, but narrower in its body, and inclined outward to meet the

other, has no projection to form a chin. Therefore, in correspondence with the shape of the maxillary bones, the African has an upper lip of unusual depth from the nose to the mouth, an under one uncommonly short from the mouth downward, and instead of projecting, like that of the Caucasian, his chin retreats. In the strictness of technical language, he can scarcely be said to have a chin. Corresponding with the direction of his maxillary bones, his teeth point obliquely outward, while those of the Caucasian are nearly perpendicular. Nor is their position the only respect in which they differ from the teeth of the Caucasian. They are larger, stronger, sharper, further apart, and covered with a thicker and firmer enamel. The cuspidati are more truly canine, and the projections from the grinding surfaces of the molares bolder and more pointed. In fine, they resemble much more the teeth of the ape, and are better fitted for cutting and tearing. In consequence of this general structure of the hard and soft parts, the African's mouth, or muzzle, projects considerably beyond his nose. To this may be added, as a further diversity in an important organ, that by far the greatest portion of his brain lies behind a perpendicular line drawn from the external opening of the ear to the top of the head, while in the Caucasian, the portions on each side of such a line are much more nearly equal.

We speak here, not of the heads of individual Africans, or individual Caucasians. That would be alike unfair and uninformative. Worse still, it would mislead. We contrast with each other the general

average of the heads of the two races; a process which, when correctly carried out, we consider conclusive.

Corresponding in their character to the maxillary bones and the teeth, the muscles appropriated to the movement of those parts, are much larger and stronger in the African than in the Caucasian. Hence the superior power and dexterity of the former, in biting and chewing hard substances. We once knew an African, who, in combat with his fellow-servants, was almost as dangerous in his snaps as a dog. To sever a finger or a thumb, or to take a mouthful of flesh from the arm or the shoulder of his antagonist, was the act of but a moment. After what we have said, we need scarcely add, that it requires a severer blow on the head to fell an African, or fracture his skull, than it does to produce a similar effect on a Caucasian of the same size and strength.

But we have not yet done with the bones of the head. The foramen magnum, in the occipital bone, is larger in the African than the Caucasian race. The necessary consequence of this is, that the medula oblongata, which passes through it and fills it, is also larger, as is indeed the whole of the spinal cord, in common with many of the nerves. We may here remark, that the moter nerves of the African generally are larger in proportion to his brain, than those of the Caucasian. In this he resembles the inferior animals, occupying a station between them and the individuals of the race with which we are contrasting him. Nor is his head equally well balanced on the spinal column. Such is the position of the condyls

of the os occipitis, which rest on the atlas, that the portion of the head behind them predominates over that which is before. This, added to the sloping of the forehead backward, gives to the African countenance that upward direction, which it is known to possess. While the front line of the Caucasian countenance is nearly perpendicular, that of the African falls far behind the perpendicular, making with it an angle of many degrees.

The differences between the upper extremities of the African and the Caucasian are peculiarly striking. In the former the clavical is rather shorter and more crooked than in the latter, while, in proportion to his hight, the arm is longer. An African of five feet eight or nine inches in hight, has an arm considerably longer than a Caucasian of six feet. Nor is this all. In the African the forearm is longer in proportion to the humerus, than in the Caucasian. In this respect his structure inclines towards that of the ape. His hand, which is not so large, is more bony and tendinous, and less muscular, and his fingers are longer, slenderer, and less fleshy. Hence, when he strikes with his knuckles in combat, he so frequently cuts his antagonist, while the Caucasian only bruises; or, at least, cuts less severely, by a blow of the same force. His nails project more over the ends of his fingers, are thicker and more adunque, and bear a stronger resemblance to claws. The veins and arteries of his hand are smaller, we believe also, fewer, and differently distributed. From the small amount of blood, which circulates through it, the hand of the African is rarely very warm.

In the African the bony fabric of the thoracic portion of the trunk is firmer than in the Caucasian, and differently shaped. The ribs are thicker and stronger, and so formed and placed, as to flatten the chest at the sides, narrow it before, and deepen it somewhat from the sternum to the spine.

Descending to another important part of the body, we find further differences. In the African of both sexes, the bones of the pelvis are slenderer than in the Caucasian. In the male African that cavity is less capacious, and in the female more so, than in the male and female of the Caucasian race. Nor is it in the bony structure only of this portion of the body, that a difference exists. The muscles also are dissimilar. In the African, the muscles that cover the sides of the pelvis are less full than in the Caucasian, while those that cover it behind are more so. Hence the narrowness of the hips of the former from side to side, and the ungraceful projection of the nates backward. Corresponding to that of the hips, the form of the whole African thigh differs materially from that of the Caucasian. It is more flat laterally, thinner from side to side, and deeper from front to rear. Here again the structure resembles that of the ape and the baboon. And here again, and *generally*, we speak not of *individuals*, but *races*.

In the two races the lower extremities are, in their relative proportions, the reverse of the upper. In their entire measurement, they are shorter in the African than in the Caucasian, while the thigh, which corresponds to the humerus, is longer in proportion to the leg, which is the part that corresponds to the

forearm. The superior length of the African thigh in proportion to the leg, is a point which has received from naturalists but little attention. Yet it is of peculiar interest in the present inquiry. The difference in the articulation of the bones of the thigh and leg in the two races, which is somewhat striking, can be learned only by inspection. It may be observed, however, that it is such as to produce in the African a perceptible flexure of the limb, at the knee, in a forward direction. His lower extremity, therefore, is not so straight as that of the Caucasian. Hence he is not so perfectly adapted to the maintenance of an erect attitude. The difference in the bones of the leg is great, and we might add, peculiarly characteristic. In the Caucasian, the tibia or large bone is straight, and the fibula or small one somewhat crooked. In the African the reverse is true. By a bend a little above its middle, the tibia is gibbous in front, while the fibula is straighter than in the Caucasian. In the two races the muscles of the leg are also very different. This is more especially the case with the *gastrocnemii* muscles. In the African the belly of these muscles is small, as in the ape and the baboon, and situated near the hock, while their slenderer portions, and the *tendo achilles*, which is attached to them, are long. This gives to the limb a very unsightly form. In the Caucasian, the belly of the *gastrocnemii* muscles is full and round, and situated lower, so as to bestow on the leg its fine proportions and elegant shape. Here the *tendo achilles* is shorter.

In the size and form of the bones of the foot, and

their articulation with those of the leg, the African differs widely from the Caucasian. His os calcis, in particular, is much longer, less rounded and malleolated at its posterior extremity, clumsily attached to the astragulus, and points almost directly backwards. The metatarsal and tarsal bones are also larger, and so united as to form surfaces nearly plain on both their upper and under sides. His toes, like his fingers, are longer, slenderer, and less fleshy than those of the Caucasian, and his toe nails thicker and stronger, and more projecting and adunque. From a want of fleshiness in its muscles, his entire foot is bony and tendinous, and its blood-vessels are small. Such are the leading differences in detail. In the aggregate, they render the foot of the African longer, broader, flatter, harder, and much more projecting and pointed behind its junction with the leg, than that of the Caucasian. His foot and leg resembles somewhat a mattock and its handle; broad before, and long, narrow, and sharp, behind. His toes also turn so much outward, that when he walks, the inside of his foot is almost in front. Owing to its scantier supply of blood, his foot is more easily chilled and injured by the frost, than the foot of the Caucasian. It is fitted, like the African hand, to a warm climate, much better than to a cold one.

In the upper and lower extremities, then, the teeth, the maxillary bones with their muscles, and the head generally, the differences between these two races of men are numerous and great. But it is particularly to those parts of the system that the zoologist directs his attention, when looking for marks to settle his

classification. Animals very much alike in other parts, are referred to different species, and even genera, on account of striking dissimilarities in these.

But all the differences between the two races are not yet enumerated. In the African the stomach is rounder, and the blood and brain of a darker color, than in the Caucasian race. In their genital organs they also differ much from each other. In the African the penis is larger and the testes smaller, and he has no *frænum præputii*. These circumstances are the more important, because they assimilate him, in the parts we are considering, to the male ape, and other inferior animals. Indeed, in those organs, he resembles the ape fully. Nor is the resemblance confined to them alone. It extends, as already intimated, to the head and face, the arms, hands—especially the fingers and nails—the flatness of the sides of the chest, the bones of the pelvis and the muscles that cover them, the lateral flatness and thinness of the thigh, its depth in the opposite direction, its length compared to that of the leg, the forward bend of the knee, the general form of the foot and its connection with the leg, and the length and taper of the toes, together with the form and position of their nails. In fine, let a well-formed Caucasian, an African possessing the real likeness of his race, and a large orang-outang be placed along side of each other, and the gradation of figure, from the first to the last, will be obvious and striking. The Caucasian will be most perfect, the African less so, and the ape the inferior of the three. It will be found, however, that in several leading and characteristic points, the resem-

blance between the African and the orang-outang will be nearly as strong, as between the former and the Caucasian. And if, for the *common* African figure, that of the Bushman or the Papua be substituted, the strength of resemblance to the ape will be much increased. We had once an opportunity to examine the person of a Bushman, and again, that of a Papuan, and we have a lively recollection of our conviction, at the time, that they did not, in figure, stand more than midway between the large orang-outang and the Caucasian. Among other peculiarities of form, the Bushman had a very unsightly projection of the nates, produced, not entirely by muscle, but in part by a substance resembling in texture the protuberance on the buffalo's shoulder, or the massy tail of the Thibet sheep. We have seen apes with a similar production, only somewhat firmer. Near to each shoulder of the Bushman, was another mass of the same anomalous substance. We were assured, that both these, and those on the nates, were natural, and not the result of diseased growth. The likeness of the Bushman to the ape, in expression of countenance, as well as in shape, is so striking, as to be recognized by every one. The quick and peculiar movement of the eyes and brows, which so strongly characterizes the ape, is practiced also by the savage.

As a further evidence in support of this position we quote Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright, of New Orleans, La., who has been asked, "How is it ascertained that negroes consume less oxygen than white men?" His answer is as follows:

"I answer by the spirometer. I have delayed my

reply to make some further experiments on this branch of the subject. The result is, that the expansibility of the lungs is considerably less in the black than in the white race of similar size, age and habit. A white boy expelled from his lungs a larger volume of air than a negro half a head taller and three inches larger around the chest. The deficiency in the negro may be safely estimated at 20 per cent., according to a number of observations I have made at different times. Thus, 174 being the mean bulk of air receivable by the lungs of a white person of five feet in height, 140 cubic inches are given out by a negro of the same stature."

The following is a comparative anatomical view, as being rather differently expressed from the previous quotations; it is from a work called "*Cotton is King*," which is as follows:

"Prognathous is a technical term derived from *pro*, before, and *gnathos*, the jaws, indicating that the muzzle or mouth is anterior to the brain. The lower animals, according to Cuvier, are distinguished from the European and Mongol man by the mouth and face projecting further forward in the profile than the brain. He expresses the rule thus: *face anterior, cranium posterior*. The typical negroes of adult age, when tried by this rule, are proved to belong to a different species from the man of Europe or Asia, because the head and face are anatomically constructed more after the fashion of the simiadiæ and the brute creation than the Caucasian and Mongolian species of mankind, their mouth and jaws projecting beyond the forehead containing the anterior lobes of the brain.

Moreover, their faces are proportionally larger than their crania, instead of smaller, as in the other two species of the genus, man. Young monkeys and young negroes, however, are not prognathous like their parents, but become so as they grow older. The head of the infant orang-outang is like that of a well formed Caucasian child in the projection and height of the forehead and the convexity of the vertex. The brain appears to be larger than it really is, because the face, at birth, has not attained its proportional size. The face of the Caucasian infant is a little under its proportional size when compared with the cranium. In the infant negro and orang-outang it is greatly so. Although so much smaller in infancy than the cranium, the face of the young monkey ultimately outgrows the cranium; so, also, does the face of the young negro, whereas in the Caucasian, the face always continues to be smaller than the cranium. The superficies of the face at puberty exceeds that of the hairy scalp both in the negro and the monkey, while it is always less in the white man. Young monkeys and young negroes are superior to white children of the same age in memory and other intellectual faculties. The white infant comes into the world with its brain inclosed by fifteen disunited bony plates—the occipital bone being divided into four parts, the sphenoid into three, the frontal into two, each of the two temporals into two, which, with the two parietals, make fifteen plates in all—the vomer and ethmoid not being ossified at birth. The bones of the head are not only disunited, but are more or less overlapped at birth, in consequence of the large-

ness of the Caucasian child's head and the smallness of the mother's pelvis, giving the head an elongated form, and an irregular, knotty feel to the touch. The negro infant, however, is born with a small, hard, smooth, round head like a gourd. Instead of the frontal and temporal bones being divided into six plates, as in the white child, they form but one bone in the negro infant. The head is not only smaller than that of the white child, but the pelvis of the negress is wider than that of the white woman — its greater obliquity also favors parturition and prevents miscarriage.

“Negro children and white children are alike at birth in one remarkable particular — they are both born *white*, and so much alike, as far as color is concerned, as scarcely to be distinguished from each other. In a very short time, however, the skin of the negro infant begins to darken and continues to grow darker until it becomes of a shining black color, provided the child be healthy. The skin will become black whether exposed to the air and light, or not. The blackness is not of as deep a shade during the first years of life as afterward. The black color is not so deep in the female as in the male, nor in the feeble, sickly negro as in the robust and healthy. Blackness is a characteristic of the prognathous species of the genus, *homo*, but all the varieties of all the prognathous species are not equally black. Nor are the individuals of the same family or variety equally so. The lighter shades of color, when not derived from admixture with Mongolian or Caucasian blood, indicate degeneration in the prognathous spe-

cies. The Hottentots, Bushmen and aborigines of Australia are inferior in mind and body to the typical African of Guinea and the Niger.

“The typical negroes themselves are more or less superior or inferior to one another precisely as they approximate to or recede from the typical standard in color and form, due allowance being made for age and sex. The standard is an oily, shining black, and as far as the conformation of the head and face is concerned and the relative proportion of nervous matter outside of the cranium to the quantity of cerebral matter within it, is found between the simiadiæ and the Caucasian. Thus, in the typical negro, a perpendicular line, let fall from the forehead, cuts off a large portion of the face, throwing the mouth, the thick lips, and the projecting teeth anterior to the cranium, but not the entire face, as in the lower animals and monkey tribes. When all or a greater part of the face is thrown anterior to the line, the negro approximates the monkey anatomically more than he does the true Caucasian; and when little or none of the face is anterior to the line, he approximates that mythical being of Dr. Van Evrie, a *black white man*, and almost ceases to be a negro. The black man occasionally seen in Africa, called the *Bature Dutu*, with high nose, thin lips, and long straight hair, is not a negro at all, but a Moor tanned by the climate—because his children, not exposed to the sun, do not become black like himself. The typical negro’s nervous system is modeled a little different from the Caucasian and somewhat like the orang-outang. The medullary spinal cord is larger and more developed

than in the white man, but less so than in the monkey tribes. The occipital foramen, giving exit to the spinal cord, is a third larger, says Cuvier, in proportion to its breadth, than in the Caucasian, and is so oblique as to form an angle of 30° with the horizon, yet not so oblique as in the simiadæ, but sufficiently so to throw the head somewhat backward and the face upward in the erect position. Hence, from the obliquity of the head and the pelvis, the negro walks steadier with a weight on his head, as a pail of water for instance, than without it; whereas, the white man, with a weight on his head, has great difficulty in maintaining his center gravity, owing to the occipital foramen forming no angle with the cranium, the pelvis, the spine, or the thighs—all forming a straight line from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, without any of the obliquities seen in the negro's knees, thighs, pelvis and head—and still more evident in the orang-outang.

“The nerves of organic life are larger in the prognathous species of mankind than in the Caucasian species, but not so well developed as in the simiadæ. The brain is about a tenth smaller in the prognathous man than in the Frenchman, as proved by actual measurement of skulls by the French savans, Palisot and Virey. Hence, from the small brain and the larger nerves, the digestion of the prognathous species is better than that of the Caucasian, and its animal appetites stronger, approaching the simiadæ, but stopping short of their beastiality. The nostrils of the prognathous species of mankind open higher up than they do in the white or olive species, but not so

high up as in the monkey tribes. In the gibbon, for instance, they open between the orbits. Although the typical negro's nostrils open high up, yet owing to the nasal bones being short and flat, there is no projection or prominence formed between his orbits by the bones of the nose, as in the Caucasian species. The nostrils, however, are much wider, about as wide from wing to wing, as the white man's mouth from corner to corner, and the internal bones, called the turbinated, on which the olfactory nerves are spread, are larger and project nearer to the opening of the nostrils than in the white man. Hence the negro approximates the lower animals in his sense of smell, and can detect snakes by that sense alone. All the senses are more acute, but less delicate and discriminating than the white man's. He has a good ear for melody, but not for harmony, a keen taste and relish for food, but less discriminating between the different kinds of esculent substances than the Caucasian. His lips are immensely thicker than any of the white race, his nose broader and flatter, his chin smaller and more retreating, his foot flatter, broader, larger, and the heel longer, while he has scarcely any calves at all to his legs when compared to an equally healthy and muscular white man. He does not walk flat on his feet, but on the outer sides, in consequence of the sole of the foot having a direction inwards, from the legs and thighs being arched outward and the knees bent. The verb, from which his Hebrew name is derived, points out this flexed position of the knees, and also clearly expresses the servile type of his mind."

Bearing our position still in view, we add, that the great object of this Work is to demonstrate that God had, in the organization of matter, a *special design*; and if he had it in one thing which is singular, and unique, and latent, *he* must have had as much *design* in all; and in illustration of this principle, we quote Rhind's Vegetable Kingdom, as to the organs of reproduction and fructification in plants, etc., etc., as follows:

“The organs of reproduction, which are also called Organs of Fructification, are those by which the preservation of species and the propagation of races are effected. Their office is not less important than that of the organs whose structure and uses we have already examined; for, if the latter are necessary for the existence of the individual, and the development of all its parts, the organs of reproduction are equally necessary to enable the individual to procreate others similar to itself, by which its species may be renewed and perpetuated.

In plants, the flower, the fruit, and the various parts of which they are composed, constitute the organs of reproduction.

Here we find a great resemblance between animals and vegetables. Both are provided with particular organs, which by their mutual influence concur in producing the most important functions of their life. Generation is the ultimate object for which nature has created the various organs of vegetables and animals. They exhibit the most perfect similarity in respect to this great function. From the action which the male organ exercises upon the female organ, fecundation takes place, by which the embryo, yet in

the rudimentary state, receives and preserves the vivifying principle of life. Here, however, we remark the modifications which nature has impressed upon these two great classes of organized beings. Most animals are furnished at birth with the organs which are, at a future period, to effect their reproduction. These organs remain in a state of torpidity until the period when nature, imparting to them a new energy, renders them capable of performing the offices for which they were destined. Vegetables, on the contrary, are, at their first appearance, destitute of sexual organs, these not being developed by nature until the moment when they are to be employed for the purpose of fecundation. Another great dissimilarity among animals and vegetables is, that, in the former, the sexual organs are capable of performing the same function several times, and exist during the whole life of the individual which bears them; while in vegetables, which have a soft and delicate texture, these organs have only a temporary existence, make their appearance for the purpose of accomplishing the views of nature, and fade and disappear whenever they have performed their office.

We admire the wisdom by which Nature has regulated the distribution of sexes in organized beings. Vegetables, which are invariably fixed to the place in which they have sprung to life are destitute of the locomotive faculty, usually bear on the same individual the two organs by the mutual action of which fecundation is to be effected. Animals, on the other hand, which, being possessed of will and the faculty of moving, can pass in any direction from one place

to another, generally have the sexes separated upon distinct individuals. For this reason, the union of the sexes in one individual is as common in vegetables as it is rare among animals.

The flower is essentially constituted by the presence of one of the two sexual organs, or of the two placed together upon a common support, with or without external envelopes intended for their protection. In its greatest degree of simplicity, the flower may, therefore, consist of only a single sexual organ, male or female, that is, of a *stamen* or a *pistil*. Thus, in the willows, whose flowers are *unisexual*, the *male* flowers merely consist of one, two, or three stamens, attached to a small scale. The *female* flowers are formed of a pistil, which is also accompanied with a scale, but without any other organs. In this case, as in many others, the flower is as *simple* as possible. It then takes the name of *male flower*, or *female flower*, according to the organs of which it is composed. The *hermaphrodite flower*, on the other hand, is that in which the two sexual organs, the male organ and the female organ, exist together.

But the different flowers which we have examined are not *complete*; for although the essence of the flower consists in the sexual organs, yet, before it can be called perfect, it must present other organs, not indeed essential to it, but which, nevertheless, belong to it, and assist in performing its functions. These organs are the calyx and corolla, which give support and protection to the parts of fructification. The fact of the existence of two kinds of flowers in plants was at an early period so far conjectured by botanists;

but its complete elucidation has only been made at a very modern date. As this is a most curious and important discovery in the history of the vegetable kingdom, we shall, before going into a description of the sexual organs, trace the progress of opinion on the subject from the earliest period to the present time."

"The pollen then is the substance by which the impregnation of the female flower is effected, and the whole of the phenomena of the growth, and economy of flowering, tends to corroborate the fact."

"The relative proportion, situation, and mutual sympathies of the stamens and pistils, are such as seem expressly calculated to facilitate the process of impregnation. In pendulous flowers the pistil is generally longest, as in the case with the lily; but in upright flowers the stamens are generally the longest, as in the ranunculus. In simple and hermaphrodite flowers, the situation of the pistil is invariably central with regard to that of the stamens, as may be seen by examining any kind of flower. In plants of the class *Monœcia* the barren blossoms stand generally above the fertile blossoms, even when situated on the same footstalk, as may be seen in the case of the *carex* and *arum*. And in plants that have their barren and fertile flowers on distinct individuals, the blossom is generally protruded before the leaves expand."

"Previous to the improvement of optical instruments, the knowledge which has been obtained respecting the varied forms of the grains of pollen, and especially respecting their internal structure, was extremely vague. A great diversity has indeed been

perceived in those which had been examined with powerful lenses, but their differences had been pointed out without deriving from them any references that might tend to the advancement of science. The structure of the pollen had also engaged the attention of most of the botanists, who had long disputed, without coming to any settled determination, respecting the internal composition of bodies of so elementary a nature. The microscopic examination of the pollen was therefore a subject that required revision, and which could not fail to attract the attention of modern observers. The grains of the pollen are utricles of various forms, having no adhesion to the anther at the period of maturity, and containing a multitude of granules of extreme minuteness. The utricular membrane is sometimes smooth, sometimes marked with eminences or asperities. Sometimes it presents little flat surfaces or prominences symmetrically arranged. When the pollen is perfectly smooth at its surface, it is not at the same time covered with any viscous coating, whereas the slightest eminences are indications of this adhesive covering. The papillæ, mammillary eminences, etc., which cover certain grains of pollen, are true secreting organs, of which the viscous and usually colored envelope with which they are invested is the product. The powdery pollen may therefore be arranged under two principal orders, the *viscous* and the *non-viscous* pollens."

"The pollen of the Mallow and Convolvulus families is formed of papillar spherical grains, of a silvery white color. In the cucumber they are spherical, papillar, and of a beautiful gold-yellow. Those of

the tribe of *heliantheæ*, in the family of *synanthereæ*, are also spherical, papillar, and of a fine orange-yellow. The tribe, or rather order, of the *cichoraceæ*, presents sperical grains, which are viscous, but are bounded by minute plain surfaces. In *cobæa scandens*, the pollen is covered with mammillar eminences, each surrounded by a shining point. The pollen of the genus *phlox* very much resembles that mentioned last; and this is a circumstance corroborative of the opinion of those who consider the two genera as belonging to the same natural family.

The families in which grains that are not viscid are found, are very numerous. As in the potato, gentian, grasses; and the grains in these having an elliptical form, and are marked with a longitudinal groove. Their usual color is yellow, although they are sometimes red, as in *verbascum*. In the pea tribe, the pollen, although not viscous, is of a very distinct cylindrical form.

When grains of pollen which are not viscous are subjected to the action of water, they instantly change their form, which, from being elliptical, becomes perfectly spherical. The viscous grains first lose their coating, then burst more or less quickly, and project a fluid denser than water, and in which are seen moving myriads of minute grains, which are rendered visible by their greenish color, when they are magnified to several hundred diameters. Amici saw a grain of pollen, in contact with a hair of the stigma, burst, and project a kind of bowel, in which the minute grains circulated for more than four hours. Gleichen, who had already observed the granules contained in the

grains of pollen, considered them as performing the principal part in the act of fecundation; and Guillemin, reasoning from the resemblance of these organs to the spermatic animalcules of animals, is inclined to adopt the same opinion.

Such was the state of our knowledge respecting the nature and organization of the grains of the pollen, when Brongniart undertook his examination of the generation of vegetables. His opinion respecting the nature and organization of the grains of pollen is as follows:—On examining the interior of the cells of a yellow anther in a flower-bud, long before its expansion, it is seen to be filled with a cellular mass distinct from the walls of the cells. By degrees the cellules of which the cellular mass is composed, and which are generally very small, separate from each other, and at length form the granules, which are named pollen. Sometimes these particular cellules or grains of pollen are enclosed in other larger vesicles, which become torn, and of which traces may still be perceived.

Each grain of pollen, whose form, as has already been remarked, is very variable, presents a uniform organization. It is composed of two membranes, the one external, thicker, and furnished with pores, and sometimes more or less prominent appendages; the other internal, thin, transparent, and having no adhesion to the first. When submitted to the action of water, the inner membrane swells, the outer bursts at some part of its surface, and through the opening thus formed there issues a tubular prolongation, which forms a kind of bag, first observed by Need-

ham. Sometimes two prolongations issue, at two opposite points. The cavity of the inner membrane is filled with spherical granules, of extreme minuteness, which appear to perform the most important part of the act of fecundation.

The pollen of the families Asclepiadeæ and orchideæ presents very remarkable modifications. In several genera of these two families, all the pollen contained in a cell is united into a body, which has the same form as the cell in which it is contained. To this united pollen is given the name of *pollen-mass*. When the pollen is thrown on red-hot charcoal, it burns and flames with rapidity. In many plants, it diffuses an odor, bearing the most striking resemblance to the substance in animals to which it is compared, as is very distinctly observed in the chestnut and barberry.

The pollen, when it begins to be developed, and long before the expansion of the flower, presents itself under the form of a cellular mass, sometimes covered with an extremely thin membrane, which, however, has no attachment to the walls of the cavity. The utricles of which this mass is composed, are at first very intimately united together. Some scattered granules are perceived in their interior. By degrees the utricles separate, the granules which they contain unite, and by their successive development, soon burst the utricles, assume the form which they are to retain, and finally become grains of pollen. It will be seen that this mode of development is perfectly similar to that of the cellular tissue, which we

described when treating of the elementary part of vegetables.

The *pistil* is the female organ in plants. It almost invariably occupies the centre of the flower, and is composed of three parts, the *ovary*, the *style*, and the *stigma*.

In most cases, we find only a single pistil in a flower: as in the lily, the hyacinth, and poppy. At other times, there are several pistils in the same flower; as in the rose and ranunculus. The pistil, or pistils, when there are more than one, are often attached to a particular prolongation of the receptacle, to which the name of *gynophorum* is given, and which does not essentially belong to the pistil, but remains at the bottom of the flower when the pistil is detached. When there are several pistils in a flower, it is not unusual to see the gynophorum becoming thick and fleshy. This is particularly observable in the raspberry, and strawberry. The part of the latter which is pulpy and sweet, and which is eaten, is merely a very large gynophorum; and the little shining grains which cover it are so many pistils. It is easy to satisfy one's self as to the nature of these different parts, by following their gradual development in the flower.

The *base* of the pistil is always represented by the point at which it is attached to the receptacle. The *summit*, on the other hand, always corresponds to the point where the styles or the stigma are inserted into the *ovary*.

The *ovary* always occupies the lower part of the pistil. Its essential character is, that when divided

into the longitudinal or transverse directions, it presents one or more cavities, named *cells*, in which are contained the rudiments of the seeds, or the *ovules*. It is in the interior of the ovary that the *ovules* acquire all their development, and are converted into *seeds*. This organ may therefore be considered, with respect to its functions, as analogous to the ovary and uterus in animals. Its usual form is egg-shaped; but it is more or less compressed and elongated in certain families of plants, as in the Cruciferae, Leguminosae, etc. The ovary is generally *free* at the bottom of the flower; in other words, its base corresponds to the point of the receptacle, into which are inserted the stamens and the floral envelopes, although it does not contract any adhesion with the calyx; as is observed in the hyacinth, the lily, and tulip. Sometimes, however, the ovary is not met with in the bottom of the flower, but seems to be placed entirely beneath the insertion of the other parts; in other words, it is united in every part of its circumference with the tube of the calyx, its summit alone being free in the bottom of the flower. In this case, the ovary has been named *adherent* or *inferior*, to distinguish it from that in which it is *free* or *superior*.

The position of the ovary, considered as to its being *inferior* or *superior*, furnishes the most valuable characters for grouping genera into natural families. Whenever it is inferior, the calyx is necessarily *monosepalous*, since its tube is intimately united to the circumference of the ovary.

The ovary is *sessile* at the bottom of the flower when it is not raised upon any peculiar support; as

in the lily and hyacinth. It may be *stipitate*, when it is borne upon a very elongated base; as in the caper. When cut across, the ovary often presents a single internal cavity or *cell*, containing the *ovules*. In this case it is said to be *unilocular*; as in the almond, the cherry, and the pink. It is named *bilocular*, when it is composed of two cells; as in the lilac; the toadflax, and the foxglove. *Trilocular*, when composed of three. *Multilocular*, when it presents a great number of cells; as in the water-lily.

Each cell may contain a number of ovules, varying in different plants. Thus there are cells which never contain more than a single ovule, and others which contain two. In some cases, each cell contains a great number of ovules, as in the tobacco, the poppy, etc.; but these ovules may be variously disposed. They are not unfrequently regularly superimposed upon each other, along a longitudinal line; as in *aristolochia sypho*.

Ovules, when fecundated, become seeds; but it frequently happens that a certain number of them regularly become abortive in the fruit. Several of the partitions are even sometimes destroyed and disappear.

The *style* is the filiform prolongation of the summit of the ovary which supports the stigma. Sometimes it is entirely wanting, and then the stigma is *sessile*, as in the poppy and tulip. The ovary may be surmounted by a single style, as in the lily, and the pea family; by two styles, as in the umbelliferae; by three styles, as in the way-faring tree; by four, as in the *parnassia*; or by five, as in the *statice*, *linum*.

In other cases, again, there is only a single style for ovaries; as in the *apocineæ*. The style almost always occupies the highest part of the ovary; as in the *cruciferae*, *liliaceæ*, etc. It is then said to be *terminal*. It is named *lateral* when it arises from the lateral parts of the ovary; as in most of the families of roses, and the genus *Daphne*. In some much rarer cases, the style appears to spring from the base of the ovary. It then obtains the name of *basal* or *basilar style*. It has this position in the lady's mantle, and the bread fruit tree. Sometimes, also, the style, in places of springing from the ovary, seems to arise from the recepticle; as in the *labiatae*, and certain *boraginææ*. The style may be *included*, that is, contained within the flower, so as not to appear externally; as in the lilac and the jasmine. Or it may be *protruded*, as in red valerian. The forms of the style are not less numerous than those of the other organs which we have already examined. Although it is generally slender and filiform, yet, in certain plants, it has quite a different appearance. It sometimes seems as if jointed to the summit of the ovary, so as to fall off after fecundation, leaving no traces of its presence; as in the cherry and plum. In this case, it is named *caducous*. Sometimes, on the contrary, it is *persistent*, when it remains after fecundation. Thus in the box, and the anemone and clematis, the style continues, and forms part of the fruit. Lastly, it sometimes remains not only after fecundation, but continues to increase in size; as in the pasque-flower.

The *Stigma* is the usually glandular part of the pistil, placed at the summit of the ovary or style, and

destined to receive the influence of the fecundating substance. Its surface is generally uneven, and more or less clammy. The stigma, considered in an anatomical point of view, is composed of elongated utricles, converging from the surface of the stigma towards the style, and loosely attached to each other by a mucilaginous substance. These utricles are generally naked, although, in some cases, they are covered by a very thin and transparent membrane. The number of stigmas is determined by that of the styles, or of the divisions of the style, the former always corresponding to the latter. The stigma is *sessile*, or directly attached to the summit of the ovary, when the style is wanting; as in the poppy and tulip.

Animals introduce by their mouth the different substances by which they are nourished; while plants absorb, in the interior of the earth, by the imbibing orifices which terminate their roots, water impregnated with substances which are either necessary or useful for their nutrition.

In animals, the substances that have been introduced pass along a single canal, from the mouth to the place where the substance which is alone directly subservient to nutrition (the *chyle*) is to be separated from the useless parts. In vegetables the same phenomena take place; the absorbed fluids pass through a certain course before they arrive at the leaves, in which the parts essential to nutrition are separated from those which are useless. Both animals and vegetables eject the substances which are unfit for their nutrition.

One of the most striking differences between vege-

tables and animals consists in the circumstance, that the former are essentially nourished by inorganic substances, such as water, carbon, hydrogen, etc., whereas the substances which are subservient to the nutrition of animals are organic, and derived from the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

The chyle, by which the nutrition of animals is effected, mingles with the blood, which it continually renews and keeps up in due quantity, circulates through all parts of the body, and serves for the development and nutrition of the organs. The sap of plants, after being exposed in the leaves to the influence of the air, which changes its nature and properties, descends into all parts of the vegetable, carrying into them the necessary materials for their growth, and thus effecting the development of all their parts."

Still further do we wish to go, with our readers, into nature's laws first ordained for good, and with most *evident design*; for which occasion, we quote from Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, the following matter as it relates to the first formation of animals, which is as follows:

"As to the generation of animals, Leuwenhoek says: 'Upon examining the seminal liquor of a great variety of male animals with microscopes, which helped his sight more than that of any of his successors, he perceived therein little living creatures, like tadpoles, very brisk, and floating in the fluid with a seeming voluntary motion. Each of these, therefore, was thought to be the rudiments of an animal, similar to that from which it was produced; and this only required a reception from the female, together

with proper nourishment, to complete its growth.' Mr. Buffon confirms the above, and adds that 'the microscope discovers that the seminal liquor, not only of males, but of females also, abounds in these moving little animals, which have been mentioned above, and that they appear equally brisk in either fluid. These he takes not to be real animals, but organical particles, which being *simple* cannot be said to be organized themselves, but go to the composition of all organized bodies whatsoever; in the same manner as a tooth in the wheel of a watch, cannot be called either the wheel or the watch, and yet contributes to the sum of the machine.' The usual distinction of animals, with respect to their manner of generation, has been into the oviparous and viviparous kinds; or, in other words, into those that bring forth an egg, which is afterwards hatched into life, and those that bring forth their young alive and perfect. Life also animates from putrification, and also dissection. The latter being the simplest method of generation, and that in which life seems to require the smallest preparation for its existence, I will begin with it, and then proceed with the two other kinds first mentioned. The earth-worm, the millipedes, the sea-worm, and many marine insects, may be multiplied by being cut in pieces; but the polypus is noted for its amazing fertility; and hence it will be proper to take the description. The structure of the polypus may be compared to the finger of a glove, open at one end, and closed at the other. The closed end represents the tail of the polypus, with which it serves to fix to any substance it happens to be upon; the

open end may be compared to the mouth, and if we conceive six or eight small strings issuing from this end, we shall have a proper idea of its arms, which can erect, lengthen, and contract, at pleasure, like the horn of a snail. This creature is very voracious, and makes use of its arms as a fisherman does of his net, to catch and entangle such little animals as happen to come within its reach. But what is most extraordinary remains yet to be told, for if examined with a microscope, there are seen several little specks, like buds, that seem to pullulate from different parts of its body, and these soon after appear to be young polypi, and, like the large polypus, begin to cast those little arms about for prey in the same manner. Whatever they happen to ensnare is devoured, and gives a color not only to their own bodies, but to that of the parent; so that the same food is digested, and serves for the nourishment of both. The food of the little one passes into the larger polypus, and colors its body; and this, in its turn, digests and swallows its food to pass into theirs. In this manner every polypus has a new colony sprouting from its body, and these new ones, even while attached to the parent animal, become parents themselves, having a smaller colony also budding from them; all, at the same time, busily employed in seeking for their prey; and the food of any one of them serving for the nourishment, and circulating through the bodies, of all the rest. This colony or society is, however, every hour dissolving. In this manner the polypus multiplies naturally, but one may take a much readier and shorter way to increase them, and this is only by cutting them into

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pieces. Though cut into thousands of parts, each part retains its vivacious qualities, and each shortly becomes a distinct and a complete polypus; whether cut lengthwise, or crosswise, it is all the same; this extraordinary creature seems a gainer by our endeavors, and multiplies by apparent destruction.

An egg may be considered as a womb detached from the body of the parent animal, in which the embryo is but just beginning to be formed. It may be regarded as a kind of incomplete delivery, in which the animal is disburthened. Some animals commit their eggs to chance, by depositing them in the sand and covering them, while others sit on them and hatch them by the warmth of their bodies, though any other heat of the same temperature would answer the same purpose. In this respect, therefore, we may consider generation from the egg as inferior to that in which the animal is brought forth alive. Nature has taken care of the viviparous animal in every stage of his existence. That force which separates it from the parent, separates it from life; and the embryo is shielded with unceasing protection till it arrives at exclusion. But it is different with the little animal in the egg; often totally neglected by the parent, and always separable from it, every accident may retard its growth, or destroy its existence. Immediately under the shell lies that common membrane or skin, which lines it on the inside, adhering closely to it everywhere, except at the broad end, where a little cavity is left, that is filled with air, which increases as the animal within grows larger. Under this membrane are contained

two whites, though seeming to us to be only one, each wrapped up in a membrane of its own, one white within the other. In the midst of all is the yolk, wrapped up likewise in its own membrane. At each end of this are two ligaments, called chalasoe, which are, as it were, the poles of this microcosm, being white dense substances, made from the membranes, and serving to keep the white and the yolk in their places. The cicatricula, which is the part where the animal first begins to show signs of life, is not unlike a vetch or a lentil, lying on one side of the yolk, and within its membrane. All these contribute to the little animal's convenience or support; the outer membranes and ligaments preserve the fluids in their proper places; the white serves as nourishment, and the yolk, with its membranes, after a time, becomes a part of the animal's body. This is a description of a hen's egg, and answers to that of all others, how large or how small soever. Previous to putting the eggs to the hen, our philosophers first examined the cicatricula, or little spot, already mentioned; and which may be considered as the most important part of the egg. This was found in those that were impregnated by the cock to be large; but in those laid without the cock, very small. It was found by the microscope to be a kind of bag, containing a transparent liquor, in the midst of which the embryo was seen to reside. The embryo resembled a composition of little threads, which the warmth of future incubation tended to enlarge by varying and liquifying the other fluids contained within the shell, and thus passing them either into the pores or tubes of their

substance. Upon placing the eggs in a proper warmth, either under the sun or in a stove, after six hours the vital speck begins to dilate, like the pupil of the eye. The head of the chicken is distinctly seen, with the backbone, something resembling a tadpole, floating in its ambient fluid, but as yet seeming to assume none of the functions of animal life. In about six hours more, the little animal is seen more distinctly; the head becomes more plainly visible, and the vertebræ of the back more easily perceivable. All these signs of preparation for life are increased in six hours more; and at the end of twenty-four hours the ribs begin to take their places, the neck begins to lengthen, and the head to turn to one side. At this time, also, the fluids in the egg seem to have changed place; the yolk, which was before in the center of the shell, approaches nearer the broad end. The watery part is in some measure evaporated through the shell, and the grosser part sinks to the small end. The little animal appears to turn towards the part of the broad end, in which a cavity has been described, and with its yolk, seems to adhere to the membrane there. At the end of forty hours the great work of life seems fairly begun, and the animal plainly appears to move; the backbone, which is of a whitish color, thickens; the head is turned still more on one side; the first rudiments of the eye begin to appear; the heart beats; and the blood begins already to circulate. The parts, however, as yet, are fluid; but by degrees, become more and more tenacious, and harden into a kind of jelly. At the end of two days, the liquor in which the chicken

swims, seems to increase ; the head appears with two little bladders, in the place of eyes ; the heart beats in the manner of every embryo, where the blood does not circulate through the lungs. In about fourteen hours after this, the chicken is grown more strong, its head is, however, still bent downwards ; the veins and arteries begin to branch, in order to form the brain ; and the spinal marrow is seen stretching along the backbone. In three days the whole body of the chicken appears bent, the head with its two eye-balls, with their different humors, now distinctly appear ; and five other vesicles are seen, which soon unite to form the rudiments of the brain. The outlines also of the thighs and wings begin to be seen, and the body begins to gather flesh. At the end of the fourth day, the vesicles that go to form the brain, approach each other ; the wings and thighs appear more solid ; the whole body is covered with a jelly-like flesh ; the heart that was hitherto exposed, is now covered up within the body, by a very thin transparent membrane ; and at the same time, the umbilical vessels that unite the animal to the yolk, now appear to come forth from the abdomen. After the fifth and sixth days, the vessels of the brain begin to be covered over ; the wings and thighs lengthen ; the belly is closed up and tumid ; the liver is seen within it very distinctly, not yet grown red, but of a very dusky white ; both the ventricles of the heart are discerned, as if they were two separate hearts beating distinctly, the whole body of the animal is covered over ; and the traces of the incipient feathers are already to be seen. At the seventh day the head appears very

large; the brain is covered entirely over; the bill begins to appear between the eyes; and the wings, thighs and legs have acquired their perfect figure. But towards the end of incubation, the umbilical vessels shorten the yolk, and with it the intestines are thrust up into the body of the chicken by the action of the muscles of the belly; and the two bodies are thus formed into one. During this state, all the organs are found to perform their secretions; the bile is found to be separated as in grown animals, but it is fluid, transparent and without bitterness, and the chicken then appears to have lungs. On the tenth day the muscles of the wings appear, and the feathers begin to push out. On the eleventh, the heart, which hitherto had appeared divided, begins to unite; the arteries which belong to it join into it, like the fingers into the palm of the hand. As the animal thus, by the eleventh day completely formed, begins to gather strength, it becomes more uneasy in its situation, and exerts its animal powers with increasing force. For sometime before it is able to break the shell, in which it is imprisoned, it is heard to chirup, receiving a sufficient quantity of air, for this purpose, from that cavity which lies between the membrane and the shell, and which must contain air to resist the external pressure. At length, upon the twentieth day, in some birds sooner, and later in others, the enclosed animal breaks the shell within which he has been confined, with its beak; and by repeated efforts, at last procures its enlargement, and becomes an organized existence to our senses.'

The resemblance between the beginning animal in

the egg, and the embryo in the womb, is very striking; and this similitude has induced many to assert, that all animals are produced from eggs in the same manner. They consider an egg excluded from the body by some, and separated into the womb by others, to be actions merely of one kind; with this only difference, that the nourishment of the one is kept within the body of the parent, and increases as the embryo happens to want the supply; the nourishment of the other is prepared all at once, and sent out with the beginning animal, as entirely sufficient for its future support. In this investigation, Graaf has, with a degree of patience characteristic of his nation, attended the progress and increase of various animals in the womb, and minutely marked the changes they undergo. Having dissected a rabbit, half an hour after impregnation, he perceived the horns of the womb, that go to embrace and communicate with the ovary, to be more red than before; but no other change in the rest of the parts. Having dissected another six hours after, he perceived the follicles, or the membrane covering the eggs contained in the ovary, to become reddish. In a rabbit dissected after twenty-four hours, he perceived in one of the ovaries three follicles and in the other five, that were changed, having become, from transparent, dark and reddish. In one dissected after three days, he perceived the horns of the womb very strictly to embrace the ovaries; and he observed three of the follicles in one of them, much longer and harder than before; pursuing his inquisition, he also found two of the eggs actually separated into

the horns of the womb, and each about the size of a grain of mustard-seed; these little eggs were each of them enclosed in a double membrane, the inner parts being filled with a very limpid liquor. After four days, he found in one of the ovaries four, and, in the other, five follicles, emptied of their eggs; and, in the horns correspondent to these, he found an equal number of eggs thus separated: these eggs were now grown larger than before, and somewhat of the size of sparrow shot. In five days, the eggs were grown to the size of duck-shot, and could be blown from the part of the womb where they were by the breath. In seven days, these eggs were found of the size of a pistol bullet, each covered with its double membrane, and these much more distinct than before. In nine days, having examined the liquor contained in one of these eggs, he found it from a limpid color less fluid, to have got a light cloud floating upon it. In ten days, this cloud began to thicken, and to form an oblong body, of the figure of a little worm; and, in twelve days, the figure of the embryo was distinctly to be perceived, and even its parts came into view. In the region of the breast he perceived two bloody specks; and two more that appeared whitish. Fourteen days after impregnation the head of the embryo was become large and transparent, the eyes prominent, the mouth open, and the rudiments of the ears beginning to appear; the backbone, of a whitish color, was bent towards the breast; the two bloody specks being now considerably increased, appeared to be nothing less than the outlines of the two ventricles of the heart; and the two whit-

ish specks on each side, now appeared to be the rudiments of the lungs; towards the region of the belly the liver began to be seen, of a reddish color, and a little intricate mass, like raveled thread, discerned, which soon appeared to be the stomach and the intestines; the legs soon after began to be seen, and to assume their natural positions.

Having thus seen the stages of generation in the meaner animals, let us take a view of its progress in man; and trace the feeble beginnings of our own existence. And first, we are entirely ignorant of the state of the infant in the womb, immediately after conception; but we have good reason to believe, that it proceeds, as in most other animals, from the egg. Anatomists inform us, that four days after conception, there is found in the womb an oval substance, about the size of a small pea, but longer one way than the other; this little body is formed by an extremely fine membrane, inclosing a liquor a good deal resembling the white of an egg: in this may, even then, be perceived several small fibres, united together, which form the first rudiments of the embryo. Besides these, are seen another set of fibres, which soon after become the placenta, or that body by which the animal is supplied with nourishment.

Seven days after conception, we can readily distinguish by the eye the first lineaments of the child in the womb. However, they are as yet without form; showing at the end of seven days pretty much such an appearance as that of the chicken after four and twenty hours, being a small jelly-like mass, yet exhibiting the rudiments of the head; the trunk is

barely visible: there likewise is to be discerned a small assemblage of fibres issuing from the body of the infant, which afterwards become the blood vessels that convey nourishment from the placenta to the child while inclosed in the womb.

Fifteen days after conception, the head becomes distinctly visible, and even the most prominent features of the visage begin to appear. The nose is a little elevated: there are two black specks in the place of eyes; and two little holes where the ears are afterwards seen. The body of the embryo also is grown larger; and both above and below are seen two little protuberances, which mark the places from whence the arms and thighs are to proceed. The length of the whole body at this time is less than half an inch.

At the end of three weeks the body has received very little increase; but the legs and feet, with the hands and arms, are become apparent. The growth of the arms is more speedy than that of the legs; and the fingers are sooner separated than the toes. About this time the internal parts are found, upon dissection, to become distinguishable. The places of the bones are marked by small thread-like substances, that are yet more fluid even than a jelly. Among them, the ribs are distinguishable, like threads also, disposed on each side of the spine; and even the fingers and toes scarcely exceed hairs in thickness.

In a month, the embryo is an inch long; the body is bent forward, a situation which it almost always assumes in the womb, either because a posture of this kind is the most easy, or because it takes up the least

room. The human figure is now no longer doubtful : every part of the face is distinguishable ; the body is sketched out ; the bowels are to be distinguished as threads ; the bones are still quite soft, but in some places beginning to assume a greater rigidity ; the blood vessels that go to the placenta, which, as was said, contributes to the child's nourishment are plainly seen issuing from the navel (being therefore called the *umbilical vessels*), and going to spread themselves upon the placenta. According to Hippocrates, the male embryo develops sooner than the female : he adds, that at the end of thirty days, the parts of the body of the male are distinguishable ; while those of the female are not equally so till ten days after.

In six weeks the embryo is grown two inches long ; the human figure begins to grow every day more perfect ; the head being still much larger, in proportion to the rest of the body ; and the motion of the heart is perceived almost by the eye. It has been seen to beat in an embryo of fifty days old, a long time after it had been taken out of the womb.

In two months, the embryo is more than two inches in length. The ossification is perceivable in the arms and thighs, and in the point of the chin, the under jaw being greatly advanced before the upper. These parts, however, may as yet be considered as bony points, rather than as bones. The umbilical vessels, which before went side by side, are now begun to be twisted, like a rope, one over the other, and go to join with the placenta, which, as yet, is but small.

In three months, the embryo is above three inches long, and weighs about three ounces. Hippocrates

observes, that not till then the mother perceives the child's motion : and he adds, that in female children, the motion is not observable till the end of four months. However, this is no general rule, as there are women who assert, that they perceived themselves to be quick with child, as their expression is, at the end of two months ; so that this quickness seems rather to arise from the proportion between the child's strength and the mother's sensibility, than from any determinate period of time. At all times, however, the child is equally alive ; and consequently, those juries of matrons that are to determine upon the pregnancy of criminals should not inquire whether the woman be quick, but whether she be with child ; if the latter be perceivable, the former follows of course.

Four months and a half after conception, the embryo is from six to seven inches long. All the parts are so augmented that even their proportions are now distinguishable. The very nails begin to appear upon the fingers and toes : and the stomach and intestines already begin to perform their functions of receiving and digesting. In the stomach is found a liquor similar to that in which the embryo floats : in one part of the intestines, a milky substance ; and, in the other, an excrementitious. There is found, also, a small quantity of bile in the gall bladder ; and some urine in its own proper receptacle. By this time, also, the posture of the embryo seems to be determined. The head is bent forward, so that the chin seems to rest upon its breast ; the knees are raised up towards the head, and the legs bent back-

wards, somewhat resembling the posture of those who sit on their haunches. Sometimes the knees are raised so high as to touch the cheeks, and the feet are crossed over each other; the arms are laid upon the breast, while one of the hands, and often both, touch the visage; sometimes the hands are shut, and sometimes also the arms are found hanging down by the body. These are the most usual postures which the embryo assumes; but these it is frequently known to change; and it is owing to these alterations that the mother so frequently feels those twitches, which are usually attended with pain.

The embryo, thus situated, is furnished by nature with all things proper for its support; and, as it increases in size, its nourishment also is found to increase with it. As soon as it first begins to grow in the womb, that receptacle, from being very small, grows larger; and, what is more surprising, thicker every day. The sides of a bladder, as we know, the more they are distended the more they become thin. But here the larger the womb grows, the more it appears to thicken. Within this the embryo is still further involved, in two membranes called the *chorion* and *amnios*; and floats in a thin transparent fluid, upon which it seems, in some measure, to subsist. However, the great storehouse, from whence its chief nourishment is supplied, is called the *placenta*; a red substance, somewhat resembling a sponge, that adheres to the inside of the womb, and communicates, by the umbilical vessels, with the embryo. These umbilical vessels, which consist of a vein and two arteries, issue from the navel of the child, and are

branched out upon the placenta; where they, in fact, seem to form its substance; and, if I may so express it, to suck up their nourishment from the womb, and the fluids contained therein. The blood thus received from the womb, by the placenta, and communicated by the umbilical vein to the body of the embryo, is conveyed to the heart; where, without ever passing into the lungs, as in the born infant, it takes a shorter course; for entering the right auricle of the heart, instead of passing up into the pulmonary artery, it seems to break this partition, and go directly through the body of the heart, by an opening called the *foramen ovale*, and from thence to the aorta, or great artery; by which it is driven into all parts of the body. Thus we see the placenta, in some measure, supplying the place of lungs: for as the little animal can receive no air by inspiration, the lungs are therefore useless. But we see the placenta converting the fluid of the womb into blood, and sending it, by the umbilical vein, to the heart; from whence it is dispatched by a quicker and shorter circulation through the whole frame,

In consequence of this pre-established order, the animals that are endowed with the most perfect methods of generation, and bring forth but one at a time, seldom begin to procreate until they have almost acquired their full growth. On the other hand, those which bring forth many, engender before they have arrived at half their natural size. The horse and the bull come almost to perfection before they begin to generate; the hog and the rabbit scarcely leave the teat before they become parents

themselves. In whatever light, therefore, we consider this subject, we shall find that all creatures approach most to perfection whose generation most nearly resembles that of man. The reptile produced from cutting is but one degree above the vegetable. The animal produced from one egg is a step higher in the scale of existence; that class of animals which are brought forth alive, are still more exalted. Of these, such as bring forth one at a time are the most complete; and the foremost of these stands Man, *the great master of all*, who seems to have united the perfections of all the rest in his formation.

Nevertheless, though this be the description of infancy among mankind in general, there are countries and races among whom infancy does not seem marked with such utter imbecility, but where the children, not long after they are born, appear possessed of a greater share of self-support. The children of negroes have a surprising degree of this premature industry; they are able to walk at two months; or at least, to move from one place to another: they also hang to the mother's back without assistance, and seize the breast over her shoulder; continuing in this posture till she thinks proper to lay them down. This is very different in the children of our countries, that seldom are able to walk under a twelvemonth."

As related in the vegetable and animal kingdom, as above quoted, we see most evident *design* in the embryo state of all matter which vegetates or animates itself into being. Is this chance work, or is it the *design* of the first Great Cause? If it was chance,

what dependence could we put upon the fructification of the females in either of the kingdoms, as to producing anything analagous to themselves? Therefore, we must see that each particle of matter, from the commencement of the vegetable kingdom, through the animal, was then electrified with a spirit of reproduction in resemblance to itself, through God's Omniscience, for the wise and noble ends, which so favorably manifests themselves to our understandings. Wherever we sound the Ocean or the Earth for knowledge on the distinct *production* of these kingdoms in resemblance to itself, we find nothing to refute this principle. Hence, naturally arises the priority of all the vegetable kingdom in the creation, and that portion of the animal, up to man, beginning with the *inanimate beings*, and passing through this kingdom, in the *sensitive plant* to the *animal kingdom*, in the *polypus*, (which seems to indicate the close of the former, and the dawn of the latter.) From this we trace step by step, and class by class, the workmanship of the Great Archetype, till *he* is about to close *his* whole great *design* in the creation of 'the man and female.' All else is created before them, and is inferior and subordinate to them, and made for them, which is fully and conclusively indicated by verse 28th of the first chapter of Genesis. Words, in this age of reason and common sense, mean something or nothing; and as words in this chapter mean something, we must be governed by them or reject them altogether. Therefore, if we accept of this chapter as the order of creation, at whatever date back it may be, and which would be a most reason-

able acceptance of light and knowledge as revealed to us, we must accept of all the conditions and consequences which it naturally entails on us, as God's vicegerents on earth. Hence the Institution of Slavery as a Divine Institution arises from this order of creation, which is shown us particularly in verse 28th of this chapter, and in part with reference to the vegetable, and the lower order of the animal kingdom, we yield to this Divine Organic Law, then why not entirely? God never intended we should work by halves, or *he* would have made us in halves, fitted to *our calling!*

The formations above quoted with reference to life, whether inanimate or animate, or animate and inanimate, in all of their stages of progression, are before us for consideration; and it seems easy to trace the *objects* God had in view in all of his creation. God is Omniscient, Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omnibeneficent. He showed *design* in creating the earth and such seeds as would grow therein, before he passed on with his creation; for in his inanimate creation he made food for his animate creation; *he* knew that they must eat, and that the former could live on drawing nourishment from the earth and the atmosphere. He gave the vegetable kingdom color, each plant, each tree, and each vine, with the latent powers of reproduction in semblance to itself; and who disputes these facts? All the fruits received their organic forms and colors, into classes, as we see them before us in a state of nature, without being hybridized. The fructifying element in the vegetable kingdom most generally obeys the organic law, as to

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producing its kind; though we see different classes of grain and fruit-bearing trees in juxtaposition with each other, it is seldom that we see natural departures from that law, except in cases where insects carry on their wings, or legs, or feet, that element before alluded to, and impart it to female blossoms.

If then it is so difficult for inanimate nature, in the vegetable kingdom, to change her course in any respect, do we trespass on organic law by rising in the scale of creation and saying, that, to carry out God's *design* in animate matter, it should be just as difficult for this change, though they come in collision with each other? In the event of change, either in the inanimate or animate kingdom, we see hybridity is the consequence, which would want some material property in possession of the original stock. With reference to hybrids in the Caucasian and African, hybridity produces the following effects, as described by Dr. J. C. Nott, which are these:

"1. That mulattoes are the shortest lived of any class of those existences resembling the human race.

"2. That mulattoes are intermediate in intelligence between the blacks and the whites.

"3. That they are less capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship than either the blacks or the whites.

"4. That the mulatto women are peculiarly delicate, and subject to a variety of chronic diseases. That they are bad breeders, bad nurses, liable to abortions, and that their children generally die young.

"5. That when mulattoes intermarry, they are less prolific than when crossed on the parent stocks.

"6. That when a negro man married a white woman, the offspring partook more largely of the negro type than when the reverse connection had effect.

"7. That mulattoes, like negroes, although unacclimated, enjoy extraordinary exemption from yellow fever, when brought to Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans."

It is believed that the series of facts herein embodied will establish the following degrees of hybridity, namely:

1st. That in which hybrids never re-produce; in other words, when the mixed progeny begins and ends with the first cross.

2d. That, in which the hybrids are incapable of reproducing *inter se*, but multiply by union with the parent stock.

3d. That, in which animals of unquestionably distinct species produce a progeny which is prolific *inter se*.

4th. That which takes place between closely proximate species,—among *mankind* for *example*, and among those domestic animals most essential to human wants and happiness; here the prolificacy is unlimited."

If the mulattoes are intermediate in intelligence, between the blacks and whites, as stated above, could the blacks be the direct descendants of the whites? would they not be *further removed* from the white man? It is an admitted fact by the most of mankind, except the Abolitionists, that mixtures of the different classes of bipeds* deteriorate the organic stock, and manifestations of this we see among all

* The term bipeds throughout this work we limit from the lowest of the monkey tribe to the existences of color, including man.

the bipeds of whatever color, whether Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, or Caucasian. Consequently, admitting the unity of the races, in having descended from the single term 'homo,' we make God's creation in *bipeds* deteriorate from the original stock; therefore God, in his workmanship, during his six days' labors, would have worked *in vain*, and *without effect*; for the rising generations, from the primordial stock, would have deteriorated, and would have been incapable of producing such pure stocks as the different races of *bipeds* now present to our consideration. Climate will imbrown the skin in both sexes of the Caucasian race by living many years in the tropics, yet let their children be born in high altitudes within the tropics, and grow up there, and they will be as fair as those Caucasians grown up in latitude 30, 40, or 50, North or South of the equator. This has been the case in America since its discovery; naked facts in history and expeditions tell us that such is the case in Africa and Asia, near the high table and mountain lands, where there are a few Caucasians, who live by themselves; and by the peculiarity of their religious notions, they abstain from mixing their stock, with the surrounding tribes or nations who are *colored*. As above stated in our quotation from Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, we discover the rapid development in Africa and elsewhere, surpassing the whites, by eight or ten months in being able to walk; this of itself is a proof of their inferiority to the whites, and that, with regard to early locomotion in infancy, they more resemble the lower classes of animals than they do the whites, in this particular. For these classes

walk almost as soon as they come into existence; the negro class in two months afterwards, quite frequently, and thus by degrees with the Malay, Indian, and Mongolian, to the Caucasian, who walk usually at ten or twelve months old. This indicates the gradual inferiority of the colored races, to the white man; for the latter is the most delicate in infancy, and requires a longer time to come to maturity. This is another evidence of the grades in animated nature, concerning *bipeds*, and proves conclusively the priority of the creation of the *existences* of *colors*, to the white man, from all the facts above quoted and expressed. Therefore, at the close of the creation, God, in pronouncing *his* benediction and commands upon what *he* had done, says, 'let them,' that is the man and the female. 'have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth,' as seen in verse 26th of the first chapter of Genesis. It is plain in this verse that God conferred on the man and the female perfect dominion, authority and control, over whatever was then created. Hence, the exercise of this dominion was in obedience to Divine Law; and in one thing no more than it is in another; but in *all* matters created, alike!

The writings of the gentlemen *heretofore* quoted, rank as those of distinguished Anatomists, Physiologists, and Ethnologists, etc., of the present age of reason and common sense, in the 19th century; hence they are entitled to respect and consideration.

From having perused the preceding quotations

thoroughly, the reader will be able to see more clearly the difference between the two,—the white man and the existences of colors, through the means of comparative anatomy, as he would be able, did he study nature's laws, to see in the same degree, the difference between wheat and barley through the means of comparative botany, as it might be easily presented to his consideration. Now to the reader's common sense judgment, we would appeal,—if he should plant corn, cotton, rye or wheat, what would he naturally expect to gather? his reason answers; and upon the same principle of reasoning and of production, what would be the consequence of a union with a white male and female, and of a union with a black male and female? We should be sure to say that each would produce his kind as in the former case. Hence, there can be no unity of the races, but each descended from his own common parentage, as the whale or the pismire, and inhabited, at first, such climates as we see now adapted to his peculiar constitution. This is common sense view based on more probabilities in its favor, than on those against it; and in this, the philosophy of reason teaches us the conception of correct notions, with reference to production, and the location thereof. For it would be useless on the part of reason and common sense to suppose that inanimate and animate bodies and beings were created all in one location; for some are made to exist solely in the torrid zone; others in the temperate; while others were made solely for the frigid. To suppose that all these bodies and beings, with their present aspects and physical conditions, could have been created

altogether in one locality, would be an attack on the wisdom of our first Parent, as they could not exist together; for, by their natures, they would have warred on each other so fearfully, that man's intervention could scarcely have preserved stocks or roots of them for new production. They would have lived then as now, in antagonism with each other, aside from the inadaptation of climate to some; for where some animals and seeds grow, others will not. This will indicate how things were created!

Did the peculiar color of the white man and woman come by chance? and are we descendants of the black race by a *freak* of nature? We have seen the Albinos, both male and female, and have noticed with a scrutinizing eye, their peculiar formations. The former question is answered in our own comments on the first chapter of Genesis, as in the case of the portrait-painter. To turn to the latter consideration, as based upon natural philosophy, production, and physiology, we discover that God, in his order of creation, was most specific in his commands with reference to each class, whether inanimate or animate, to produce after his kind; as in the grass, herb, fruit-tree, and in the multitude of water animals. This point is not *questioned*, as wheat cannot produce oats, nor grass corn, nor cabbage a pumpkin, *any more or less* can the cow produce the elephant, the lioness the goat, by process; or rising in the scale of *being*, can the *negress* the *white man*; the *Indian* the *negro*; the China-woman the *negro*; the *white-woman* the *negro*—or *Indian*—or *Chinaman*; for each as above, is ordered by God, to produce *his* kind. If we

sprang from the *Albinos*, male and female, and they from the negro and negress, and this should have been the *law of production* in Africa, (for this *law* is not *whimsical* and *freakish*;) the Albino race with all their *phrenological* and physiological *features* and *characteristics*, would now be the *prevailing race* in Africa, and *marked* in the *high Altitudes* of Africa with the same features, eyes, brains, hair, skin, teeth, and desire for research in the arts and sciences as we are. What naturalist or historian can tell us that this is the case? We know that there are freaks in nature in Africa and America when the negro and negress have produced white offsprings, called Albinos; but this does not follow as a law of *production*, any more than smut from wheat follows as a law of production;—and hence we must look for it as a natural consequence. Their eyes are reddish white, round, and near-sighted, and weak; their noses are flattish and negro-shaped; their lips are thick and resemble the negro's; their heads, from every point of view in which we have seen, and examined them, for we have seen several directly from Africa, resemble the negro; their hair resemble that of the negro in point of being curley, and standing up erect; though it is rather of a yellow whitish color. There is no distinct tribe of the *Albinos* as of the Negro, the Indian, the Malay, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian.

The Caucasians, in contradistinction to *existences* of *colors*, and owing to their peculiar formations with reference to heads, eyes, noses, ears, lips, skins, and blood, must have been a distinct part of God's Creation, as they are recorded to have been in the first

chapter of Genesis, verse 26th, and 27th; otherwise, if we came as the *Albino*,—it would have been by chance; for it is a freak of nature that gives him birth;—"God created nothing *in vain*;" if our origin came by *chance* as the Albino, God would have performed his *workmanship in vain*; it would have been *chance work*; there would have been no *design in creation*; it would wholly have been chance, and peradventure with God, which would take from him all his *pre-knowledge*, and his *omniscience*! Who is willing to admit that we came by peradventure, from a freak of nature, as the Albino, or that we have originated from the Albino? which would rob God of a portion, yes, the most important portion of Creation; for does color come by chance? and would the workmanship of the Almighty have been *finished and complete* in six days? if *he* had not stamped our *color*, and the *colors* of the *subordinate and inferior existences*, when we were created,—any more or any less, than would be *finished and complete* the figure representing a man or woman, without the Designer's adding the *color intended*, to distinguish it from others!

If the critic, the philosopher, or the stupid Donkey, should admit for a moment that climate, or the influence of the seasons, could work radical changes, let him *travel* one moment with us through a description of the skin, as quoted from Hooper's Medical Dictionary. "The skin, though apparently a simple membrane, is in reality laminated, consisting of several subdivisions; the outermost lamina is termed with us scurf skin, or cuticle; the second has no English

name, is known only to anatomists, and is called *rete mucosum*. After these two are removed, we come to, as is commonly thought, the surface of the skin itself. When a blister has been applied to the skin of a negro, if it has not been very stimulating, in twelve hours after, a thin, transparent, grayish membrane is raised, under which we find a fluid. This membrane is the cuticle or scurf-skin. When this, with the *fluid*, is removed, the surface under them appears black; but if the blister had been very stimulating, another membrane, in which this *black color resides*, would also have been raised with the cuticle. This is the *rete mucosum*, which is itself double, consisting of another gray transparent membrane, and of a *black web*, very much resembling the *nigrum pigmentum* of the eye. When this membrane is removed, the surface of the *true skin* comes in view, and is white, like that of an European. The *rete mucosum* gives the color to the skin, and is black in the African." Hence in the Caucasian it is whitish; in the Indian, it is copper-colored; in the Mongolian, it is olive-colored; and in the Polynesian, it is a dark brown color. Thus we see the *primordial causes* which *distinguish* the white man from the *subordinate and inferior existences*. Are these fixed colors that characterize the *inferior races*, and make man feel *his* superiority over these *subordinate and inferior existences* of colors, the *work of chance*, the *freak of nature*, when we consider the *intelligent design necessary* in the accomplishment of this *master-workmanship*? Thus we might pursue the lines of demarcation between the white race and the existences of *colors ad infinitum*; but we trust that when the reader

shall have perused this distinction, and brought it home to his understanding, with reference to the influence of the *rete mucosum* on *existences* of colors, and man, he will be fully convinced that, if the distinction be so great in one particular, which lies open to our sight and to our reason; all their other organic forms, latent to our view, would bear the same low, inferior analogy to the white race that their skin does, in characterizing the distinctions existing between the whites and existences of colors.

Our likes and dislikes are natural; we are allured by what is symmetrical, and fair or white, and why? because it does not displease the taste or the judgment, and because the latter resembles, or is typical of purity and of excellence. This is the logical reason, and is based on natural principles; and all nature goes to show this truth. For who is not pleased with the lily of the valley which is white, or with a white rose; or with any effect of nature or art which is white? Even existences of colors, live where they will, prefer white as a dress suit to any other color, and why? because it is natural, and indicates virtue, though it covers vice and crime!

To show how inconsistent God would have been in his creation, if everything had not been completed, as affirmed to have been in the first chapter, we instance this case to the reader:

If a portrait-painter should enter your house and negotiate with you to take your likeness and that of your wife, and after having labored for *six days*, he should pronounce his *work finished* and *complete*, though the *coloring*, to show whether you or your wife were

black or white, was not given, would you call the great design, the work which he negotiated to do, *finished and complete*? any *more* or any *less* than the work of the Almighty would have been finished and complete, if the interior races, that is, all of color, and our race had received no *color* to designate the distinctions which are so forcibly impressed by the *colors*?

Though the outlines are given, the form is marked out, yet the coloring is a constituent part of the image or the likeness; you see none could have existed without it. This logic is correct, there is no way left open for an attack except by *brute force*. As well you could argue against two and two making four, as against the position here marked out, which is founded in nature,—the work of God! Contradict it, and then believe in the word of God? Believe in the Bible, and then deny slavery to be a Divine Institution? Oh, ye hypocrites! when will ye humble yourselves before God and man, and learn wisdom from reflection and tracing the commands of God in the book of nature, and in the first chapter of Genesis?

How *preposterous* and *unholy* it is for the “man” created in the “Image and after the Likeness of God,” to presume on the plain command of his Creator, in the endeavor to place *existences of color on an equality with himself*; which God and nature forbid in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis! for *He* says, in the last clause of this verse, *have dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth*! As well we might argue that God, in this verse, did not command “the man and the female”

to "be fruitful, multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it," as to say that *He* did not give and command the man and the female to take *dominion*; there would be as much sense in omitting the former command as the latter. This *command* proves inferiority and subordination. Consequently, "Dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth," means the exercise of authority, and how could this authority be exercised, without subordinate existences of color having been purposely created to be obedient to man? God understood his workmanship, no one will question, except an Abolitionist, and when it was complete. He knew when Moses was inspired with the spirit of *himself*, and the words and substance *he* saw fit to let come down to the 'man!' We have then the whole history of the creation before us in the first chapter of Genesis; for it is no where else. When then will man learn to read and understand, and understanding, learn to *obey* the commands of God! If all are not obeyed, why obey any? if any are obeyed, why not obey all; on the same principle of reasoning? In this argument, we dispossess ourselves of passion and prejudice, and have endeavored, according to the letter and spirit of the words in the first chapter of Genesis, to arrive at the literal meaning of the words and sentences; for we know that in this, we must find all that *were created*. There is no other account of creation and thus we must believe *this*, or that we came, with all created matter by chance; and if the Abolitionists do not give *full* and *implicit credit* to the *intent* and the *reasonable meaning* of this Chapter, we

must conclude, from their peculiar *meddlesome organization*, that they did *come by chance*, and that we have no account of *such* in the *creation*. By this, we do not wish to be understood that Abolitionists are *immortal*; far from it; they have *little* the appearance of an *immortality* about them. *Chance is playing harock upon their constitutions, and consumption is most wonderfully begun!*

To indicate this, it is not necessary; and that it is wholly out of order, to turn to other chapters of the Bible, for the purpose of confirming the creation to have been completed within the six consecutive days, as mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis, the following fact is a conclusive illustration:

If a master mechanic in the United States should erect a complex engine, consisting of even thousands of parts, and on trial, should find that it worked, in the performance of its functions for which it was designed, to such exactness and perfection, that no friction is created except from the weight of the engine, and the force it was made to overcome,—would it be necessary for us to transport ourselves to some foreign country, before we could award judgment in favor of our home production? This comparison we hope may prove intelligible; it appeals to reason and to the judgment. In this view, God began and finished in the first chapter of Genesis, the creation, that is, incipient stages, seeds, and existences whether inanimate, or animate, by pairs in the opposite genders, in which respect, most of the inanimate part of creation might be called hermaphrodite, as having both

sexes on one stock or root, whereas all of the animate, perfect in its formation, consists of two stocks or roots with two genders;—in the 24th verse *he* created every living *thing* inferior and subordinate to man, and consequently, all *existences of colors*; in the 26th verse, he made man, and in the 27th verse, he created *them* male and female, which expounds his act into the 26th verse; in the 28th, *he* gives his Commands; he tells “the man and the female,” what to do. In part they have obeyed;—they have been fruitful;—they have multiplied, but they have not replenished the earth only to a certain extent with their own species. No *fanatic* would suppose for a moment that God intended that *they* should do all this with *Negroes, Indians, Mulattoes, Asiatics, etc., etc.* *He* commanded them to subdue the earth, not give it up nor leave it, in the same manner as a subordinate is commanded to do a thing when it is *pre-known* that he can do it. He further commanded them—“have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.” God is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. *He* pre-knew the full extent of the commands contained in this verse to all eternity; *he* pre-knew that *he* was powerful enough to carry them out throughout time; *he* pre-knew that *his* existence was to be always and every-where. In full view of this pre-knowledge in himself, how could *he* have issued such commands to be tampered with and changed by man, without incurring *his high displeasure*? A command, or commands, in this verse, are such as admit of no *equivocation*; for God pre-knew

what he meant and what he desired, or he would be inconsistent with *his* omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence! He did nothing *in vain*; to have changed his commands or his purpose, he would have worked *in vain*! The literal meaning and interpretation of God in the creation are fully embraced in the purview of this chapter; and none but skeptics will wish to cavil, and contradict the word and the commands of God! Did *he* command to be disobeyed? Did *he* command in this chapter to have it countermanded in another? Affirmatively in this view, and in this light, how inconsistent would God be! We have as good a right to say that *he* created nothing, as to say that *he* issued from himself no commands to man for *his* special guidance; and if we believe that *he* issued *one command*, we must believe that *he* issued all laid down in verse 28th, first chapter of Genesis.

In reasoning, would you impeach God by quoting matter foreign to the creation, and make *him*, with yourselves, a common liar? Oh ye Hypocrites, when will ye be grateful to your Creator! God is a consistent God; in *his creation* he has shown *himself* a master-workman; he arose, saw, and touched, and it was done!

We might as well turn to every chapter in the Bible to form our judgments, with reference to the meaning and interpretation of the first chapter, as to go to Europe, in order to form our judgments as to the *perfection* of that *engine* previously alluded to; and so vice versa. This would amount to nonsense, which the Abolitionists want. They would distort Heaven

and Earth, and use *brute force* to convince man of the rectitude of their positions, had they the power! We have seen this in argument; we know well their brutality. They cannot stand reason!

It is the touch-stone which shows them their infidelity, their atheism, their unequivocal denials of the commands of God! We have proved this beyond refutation, to minds of common sense and common reason.

Pretend no longer that you act according to the order of nature as laid down in the creation; for your daily acts belie you; you are demons of the deepest dye;—you have rebelled against your creation; you have betrayed the trust reposed in you by the Almighty; you have sold your *birth-rights* for less than a *pottage*.

If you could, you would dictate the order of nature; you would change her whole course and make it dependent on your wills! By your fanaticism, by your infidelity, and by your avarice, you would rob high Heaven of her star-light glory! The very term Abolitionist as now applied in the United States and in Europe, denotes an Atheist, according to verse 28th, first chapter of Genesis, wherein God commands “the man and the female have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every *living thing* that moveth upon the earth.” This is a *command* of God; it admits of no other *construction*; it is *unequivocal*; it allows no *parley*; it comes to the *point*; the high *order* is issued, and who dare disobey it? Oh ye hypocrites! how long will ye sin and call yourselves saints and martyrs!

From every verse in the first chapter of Genesis we have conclusively shown that God had a design ; for in each he gives us a specimen of his plastic will, or shows a definitive intent. He indicates an inventive purpose, and all goes to prove and demonstrate, in the end, his great creation ! Who doubts but that there is light ? it comes to the reason and to the understanding. Who questions but that there is day and night ? we have a perception of each from our sight. Who doubts but that there is a firmament ? we see its effect. Who questions but that there is a spacious earth and extended ocean ? We have seen them demonstrated. Who doubts but that the earth brings forth grass, the herb and the tree of its kind ? Our reason and judgment teach us so. Who questions the lights in the firmament—the sun, moon, and stars ? Our knowledge of astronomy has proved to us these facts. Who doubts but that God said in the twentieth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, “Let the *waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life*, and fowl, *that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.*” This verse possesses a most remarkable instance of a noun of multitude in the term “moving creature.” This term indicates all that was created in the waters, all the different classes of fish, reptiles and monsters, with all their *colors*, by pairs ; for each is ordered to produce its kind. In this we see, and do not question what is meant by “moving creature.”

We can turn to no other portion of the Bible, or to the New Testament, and discover any account of the different classes of fish, reptiles and monsters

having been created. We must, therefore, admit unequivocally, that all classes of fish, reptiles and monsters, *with all their colors*, were created by pairs, with opposite genders, in this verse 20th, and from the term "*moving creature*." It is a just, reasonable, and incontrovertible conclusion. We cannot, by sophistry and false premises, convince reason and judgment to the contrary. We must be content with reason, for we are formed in the image and after the likeness of Him who is the attribute of reason. Hence, no one can question the full meaning of the term "*moving creature*."

If, then, this cannot be questioned, and as we see it put beyond question, what conclusion can we then arrive at, in the term "*living creature*," in the twenty-fourth verse of the first chapter of Genesis? wherein God said, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing, and beast of the earth, after his kind; and it was so." The term "*living creature*" in this verse is another remarkable instance of the power and effect of a noun of multitude. We see in this term "*living creature*," as in that of "*moving creature*," the creation of all subordinate and inferior existences of colors, possessing degrees of humanity, (though, from the "*man*" walking erect, distinct and peculiar,) and in pairs, with opposite genders, and with natural affinities for each other in production, in order that each class should produce its own color and kind, as the fish, reptiles and monsters of the ocean produce each their kind. We see fish, reptiles and monsters of the ocean, of different classes, hav-

ing sprung from the pairs of opposite genders, embraced in the term "moving creature," in verse 20th, just in the same manner as we see the different classes of the *colored existences* having sprung from the pairs of opposite genders embraced in the term "living creature," in verse 24th. This analogy of reasoning is correct; we see its *application* by comparing the *power* and *effect* of "moving creature" with "living creature." We see what the *former* has produced, and no one *denies* it; we see what the *latter must* have produced, and *who* can deny it in view of the natural order of production? If you can, turn where you will to any other portion of the Bible, or the New Testament, and trace the work of God begun anew, when it was *finished* and *made* complete in the first chapter of Genesis. He pronounced His work *finished* and *complete* in six days—that is, six consecutive days—not *one here* and *another there*.

Do you believe in the Bible, O ye Abolitionists? or in the New Testament, the Gospel Dispensation, and reject the Old Testament, the Mosaic Dispensation? We should conclude most *intelligibly* that you did; for in the Gospel Dispensation—that is, in the New Testament—you have no account of creation; your doctrine wants none; you imagine that you yourselves possess the powers creative for your own *creation*! Rejecting, as your faith and actions indicate, the first chapter of Genesis, the most important narration in the Bible, the most stupendous events on record—the creation of light, day, night, firmament, earth, seas, grass, herb, fruit-tree, sun, moon, stars, the moving creature, fowl, the living creature,

cattle, creeping thing, beast, man and the female, what shadows of men are ye? Of death? No! Of hell-rebelling? Yes! and see what sprang from non-existence into existence to animate and excite each other! and still you *act*; you *reason*; you *plot* in *direct opposition* to the *command* of the Almighty in the latter part of the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, when God said, ‘*have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing, that moveth upon the earth.*’ If you do not take *command* over *every living thing*, why take *command* over the *fish* of the sea and over the *fowl* of the air?

Does God discriminate in this command, or does it not seem imperative? As yet, *his* commands have been to the point, and most wonderful have been the results! Hence, so long as you uphold, in any form, the severing of the relation of master and Africans* of color held by him, who, by nature, as already proved, are inferior and subordinate, having been purposely created for men to have dominion over, you act in violation of the command of God in *his* creation, with reference to the offices or functions which He *enjoined* upon man! For, He says: “Have dominion,” etc., etc., in the 28th verse.

Do ye acknowledge your obedience to God? if so, why disobey the injunction — “Have dominion,” etc. Can you worship God and the devil at the same time? This command is a part and parcel of God’s creation; for it was a mandate issued within the six days wherein *everything was made!* Hence, it is a command to man as old as creation! It is no *illusion*

* Africans of color as a term is used in contradistinction to those Caucasian nations living in the northern portion of Africa.

of man! It is no *aspiration* after power! It is simply using such *elements* formed in the creation as are *inferior* and *subordinate* by nature! It was a wise *design* which made them so, for nothing was created in *vain*. He acted the part of a *Great Archetype*; he knew the *why* of his workmanship. He pre-knew to all eternity. He issued his commands to 'the man and to the female,' in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, well knowing the full weight and force of those commands, or *he* is not, nor was *he*, omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent! In view of eternity, O ye Abolitionists, what will be your *final doom*, acting as ye do, in positive *violation* of God's most *creative command*—"Have dominion," etc.? Unless ye desist, and repent, and *make immediate reparation* for past *transgressions* of this *organic command*; hell is your doom, picture it as you please! God did not limit this *command*; he *knew* its *purpose* and duration to all eternity! Contradict this, and ye contradict the *organic law* laid down in the Creation: "Have Dominion," etc., etc. Keep this *Command* forever before your eyes both when ye wake and when ye sleep, and feel that ye are not Gods of Creation, for ye are *created* to *obey* this *Command* or *suffer* the *punishment* prepared for the *wicked* and *corrupt* of heart! If ye are Gods, show your *immortality* and *creative powers*, and we will *pray* unto you to *forgive* our *trespasses*, as we should *forgive others*! This will be homage to *whom* homage is due! Ye Abolitionists, ye have been Atheists long enough; ye have denied the *Attributes* too long, for Hell is now agap for the solemn installation of your perverted souls! Ye are *marked*; Ye are

Atheists ; Ye do not believe in the *organic command* of God, laid down in the creation, verse 28th 1st chapter of Genesis, where it says, " Have dominion," etc., etc. If ye deny this part, the most important of all, being a part of creation, ye would do better to deny all, altogether ?

If climate could change the white man into a black one giving him the *rete mucosom* with the black fluid, under the cuticle, which colored existences manifest on their outer surface, or if this process was going on, we might be more favorable to admit the *unity* of the races ; but as such changes are not going on in the process of nature from any knowledge we possess, we must conclude that the Mongolian, the Indian, the Polynesian, the Negro, and the Caucasian, had each a separate origin in the beginning, and as is laid down in the *organic law* of creation. For more than 1500 years, Jews have been settled on the coast of Malabar, and are now as perfect Caucasians, as they were when they emmigrated from their native home. This position will hold good with reference to the settlement of the Caucasians in any part of the Globe; notwithstanding the effects of climate. Hence, if in 1500 years, there is no constitutional and physical difference in point of color, between the children of grown inhabitants who are wholly of Jewish origin and settled on the coast of Malabar, and the Jews of Jerusalem, and there is no progress towards that difference;—what effect would the climate have in even 6000 years on the same principle of reasoning? History informs us that these Jews have been on the Malabar coast 1500 years, and that they are as white

physically as the Jews in their own native country, aside from the influence which the climate has to brown the cuticle or the scurf-skin, in the same manner as a white man, going from Nova Scotia to New Orleans or Cuba, becomes embrowned. But in either of these cases, the Jew or Nova Scotian is still white, and no change but the embrowning has taken place, which process will never be carried any further; for the system now resists completely the action of the climate. Therefore, between the climate and the system, action and reaction are in equilibrium, and the physical causes bearing on them will not change their complexion and make a new race of them. If the climate did produce the effect to turn a white man into a black one, as with reference to the Jews above mentioned, the Jews should now be nearly one fourth black, for 1500 years are three 1362-1500 of 5862* years, (the latter period representing the age of creation,) as the process of mutation has been going on with the order of nature in her growth since the creation was finished, *except* in her *fixed laws* that characterize *design* and classes — as the planets, plants, seeds, sun, moon, stars, animals, existences of color, and man.

This principle, with reference to nearly one fourth change in the Jews on the coast of Malabar, as advocated by some, will not hold good, from the fact that, up to the present time, there is no change in them, except in such as have violated their religious creed, which denies them the privilege of marriage with those not of their descent. They make no new converts. They are satisfied with their own natural increase. Hence, the settlement of Jews thus long

* 5862 is the period usually computed since the creation.

within the tropics, and in a low position as to altitude, is good evidence that no changes are going on by the influence of the climate. However, if such a change would take place as Dr. Pritchard seems to indicate, in his *most marvelous work*, it should manifest itself in any race of beings, either to becoming white, olive-colored, brown, copper-colored, or black, by being removed to a greater or less distance from the equator, proportioned to the time of their residence, in such location, since the creation. Hence, if 1500 years can not change, in any degree, the rete mucosum of the Jews, and as four thousand years have not in that of the Caucasians of pure blood in Egypt and Asia Minor, or of the tropics, with reference to their children,—if they should be taken to a northern climate, or to a high altitude, as in Mexico, South America, or the table lands of Asia, or Africa,—what change can we expect to have seen made in the nature of the *rete mucosum* of any of the races, since the Creation? Let *astute* and logical Abolitionists answer! and if they *should*, it would be what?

For, if this organic law was not fixed, should we plant a peach? what would we expect? And should we plant corn, wheat, barley, oats, rye, a walnut, a butternut, and so on, through all the seeds of creation, would we have any right to expect that these grains or nuts would produce the kinds that each respectively represents? We know this law of production of each according to his kind is a *primordial law*, laid down in the *order of nature* at the period of creation; and consequently, we *know* that we shall reap in kind what we sow; for the experience of

ages teach us this fact. Would you plant corn, and expect barley by any mutation of the seasons or the effect of the climate? This is a picture which we wish you Abolitionists to hold up to your understandings; for, as in the *inanimate order* of creation, we see the law of production exemplified, so we behold it in the progressive existences of colors, possessing degrees of humanity, and also in man; as each generative property of nature is ordered to produce his kind. If, from a white man and woman, we should obtain one existence of color, where would this mutation stop, and how far would it not descend from man into the lower order of creation? We might as well say that the monkey or the pismire came from man in the order of descent as to say that the Mongolian came from him; or that the African from the Mongolian; for, from the highest to the lowest; or from the latter to the former, there is a regular descent or ascent in the scale of being, connecting link by link, each part of animate matter, as from the earth created. This link is traced by naturalists and physiologists with the same unerring certainty as an astronomer traces the coming of an eclipse. It is by comparing one with another that the naturalist or physiologist makes his deductions; and by the exercise of reason, the mathematician tells us that two and two make four. Hence, by a process of enlightened reason, we can trace the classes and their analogies to the next above or below them, and thus to the highest or the lowest in the scale of being or existence. As in the case of the bee, or the ant, there is one destined to rule, if we can judge and deduce facts from the

design of God in them, and from the operation of their workmanship. This is an acknowledged fact, and a wise provision in the design of Providence is here manifest. The more animal the existence is, the more we see the *government invested* in one, while all others, under its control, exercise less reason, and have to do nothing only to obey their ruler, and the law of nature in satisfying hunger, sleep and sensuality. When we travel to the far West, or the prairie, we see *this design in government exemplified* by a leader among the buffalo, the deer, the elk, the horse, and whatever else we behold in a state of nature!

If the names we might apply to objects, and especially to individuals, controlled their colors, we should act the part of God; for we should create, by will, without the co-operation of nature, for color is a part of creation. No one, not even eminent Divines, naturalists or physiologists, deny but Noah and his wife were white, and Caucasians, according to the modern usages in terms, and had three sons—Shem, Ham and Japheth; no one disputes but Noah was a descendant of Adam, created of the dust of the earth—*virgin earth*. The bare creating a man of the dust of the earth, whether that be white, copper-colored, black, olive-colored, or a dusky brown, as the known races are, at present represented, imports but little; for the dust had to undergo a *chemical process* before *man was made*! This stands to reason, for all of the *fruits* are created or formed from the *earth*, yet we see a great *variety* of *shapes* and *colors*. These are formed by the *chemical* process of nature, just as we

see all the *lower* classes of animals formed. To give these fruits different *forms* and *colors*, it must have been a *design* with the Almighty, not the *work* of *chance*; as *He* says, "Let everything produce its kind, whether inanimate or animate." In the Hebrew language Shem means nothing but a *name*; Ham, in this language, means "*warm* or *hot*," and Japheth means enlarging or wide-spreading. And finally, Adam, from the Hebrew term Adamah, dust, means nothing more nor less than the first man, who was made by a chemical process out of the dust, and thus all existences of color, and all beneath them, were made in like manner. None of these names signify color of any kind; for they were of a common parentage, that is, Shem, Ham and Japheth. If a Caucasian gentleman should wed, and should marry a Caucasian lady, and have three male boys, and name one *Red*, one *Black*, and one *White*, would this *bare naming* indicate anything of their complexion any more than Thomas, Charles, or William would? and if it would not in modern times, why would it in ancient times, except it be carried so far back that it excites the marvelous in man, which makes him believe *anything*! It is an acceded point with the most of mankind, that when we see a man versed in the *arts*, *sciences* and *languages*, that he is an intelligent man, and knows far more than a man who follows the plow. Dr. James Charles Pritchard is a man of this kind, and indicates it in a work entitled "Researches into the Physical History of Man." The Doctor believes in, and has endeavored to establish, the unity of the *human race*, making the Mongolian,

Indian, Malay and African, of the same class as the Caucasian, which we have, and shall still continue to refute, by a process of natural reasoning, founded on organic law. And if this law be not right, just and proper, no human conventional law can be; and no human law is right which contravenes the organic law, provided there be a *God* and there be a *creation*! We see that all the Doctor's knowledge and research *make* himself believe that all races of color, with *man*, are descended from one common parentage; and he, in order to carry out other *principles* of *supposed philanthropy*, endeavors to force this doctrine upon the reasons of others, who have not that acknowledged reputation that he so undeservedly enjoys. His argument and deductions amount to this—that the white man, the olive-colored *existence*, the copper-colored *existence*, the brownish-colored *existence*, and the black or negro *existence*, all originated from the first man, who was made of the “dust of the earth,” presenting, as they do, all the separate physical distinctions in every point of view we see them. This is enough to startle our *reason* and *inquiry*! On the same principle of reasoning, the *learned Doctor* omitted to tell us that *corn*, *oats*, *rye*, *barley* and *buckwheat*, originated from *wheat*, and so on, throughout inanimate nature. He should have told us so, and *quoted* the *eleventh verse* of the *first chapter* of *Genesis* to have *sustained* his *deductions*, but he was afraid to descend to the classes of *production*, which we all know so well by experience; for we do not sow barley to produce wheat, nor plant corn to produce oats. Such deductions as the Doctor has made in his work

are like the straw on the ocean, which a man reaches for in a shipwrecked condition; there is no reason nor common sense in them, for they are not founded on the organic law of *creation*, "Let each produce his kind." This is the command of God, notwithstanding the *learned Doctor's opinion* to the contrary.

If the *law of production* with reference to mutation, should be different in one thing, why not in all? The Doctor's deductions from his *Researches* are too *wonderful* for even the most *credulous* to believe; for they conflict with *that law of production* which we experience in the journey of life during each day. It is child-like, or rather, *Impudence* to God to suppose that *his Organic Law* has changed since the Creation; for *did he* permit it in *one thing* or *instance*, why not in *all*? and if *this* be done,—would *he* show *his consistency, his Omniscience, Omnipotence, and Omnipresence*? Let reason and common sense answer, and refute this *charge* of God's inconsistency! The condition of the learned Doctor is like that of many gentlemen whom we are constantly meeting, and who are rather disposed to cling to the wonderful and irrational in the order of *Creation*, believing that the whites sprang from the blacks, or the blacks from the whites, and so on through animated nature walking erect; and consequently, if a learned Doctor, visiting the East, should tell them that *there*, corn sprang from wheat, or rye from barley, they would believe it without applying the key of reason and analogy!

And thus mankind live and die on the report of others, without applying the touch-stone of reason and common sense, to their acquiescence.

The Inspired Man, Moses, says in the 20th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, "And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the *moving creature* that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth, in the open firmament of Heaven." Was not God as mindful of man, and of *progressive existences* of color, possessing degrees of humanity, as he was of the fowl of the air, at the period of his creation? By matter inanimate all the fowl stood related, and represent a part of the division of the animal kingdom, that fly in the air, in the same manner as the vegetable kingdom represent the whole division, that grow from the earth; and in this view, will any one pretend to argue that the beautiful Humming or Canary bird originated from the Swan, the Pelican, or the Ostrich, because matter stood related to matter, any more or less, than he would that all other grain for subsistence, or fruit for the appetite, originated from barley, or from an apple? There would be as much common sense in the one deduction as in the other. The whale and the codfish stood related by original matter, *dust* of the *earth*, or of the bottom of the waters, for they have substance and are represented under two classes of Creation;—and who would argue that the codfish originated from the whale, or the whale from the codfish?

Hence, we see common sense repudiate such deductions without hesitation. And will not the same logic apply to the term *man* and the term *living creature* in substance,—the dust being originally the same? or in other words, the white man and the existences of colors, though they walk *erect* and hold *converse*, in

the same manner as the fowl of the air that fly and hold converse, and the fish, reptiles, and monsters of the Ocean that swim and hold converse! The analogy of reasoning, in this, is complete, and unanswerable by any forced sophistry, or casuistry; for the line in the one, or latter case is as broad, or divergent, and absurd as in the former; and if there be a unity of the races, or all sprang from the one term—man, then all the fish, etc., sprang from the first one created, or all the fowl from the first one created also, on the same principle of reasoning; otherwise God would reverse his order of production, wherein *he* says, “Let each produce his kind; and if this be so ordered in one thing or instance, it would have shown inconsistency to not have had it so in all, when we see distinct organizations in the animal and vegetable kingdom, below man, and the existences of color. This will not stand the touch-stone of the critic, as the physiologist, or an abolitionist, or even an Atheist! Philosophism, we detest!

“When all was chaos before the formation of the waters, matter existed, but without any reference to the formation of bodies into any shape whatever, whether inanimate or animate. Matter then stood related to matter with no perceivable differences, for nothing was created. What matter now composes seeds of any class, as grass seed, etc., grain of any class, as barley, etc., fruit of any class, as apples, etc., animals of the lowest class with all the links of animate matter to man, the forests and the rocks, and whatever else exists, was then nothing but matter, shapeless, and apparently as then existed, without *de-*

sign; for all was alike; and for this reason alone, when they severally *cease to exist*, they return to original matter, to enter into new compositions forming and to be formed; and thus matter is constantly changing. Do these principles seem to contradict each other? we witness all this in the *death* of inanimate and animate objects in the journey of life, each day of our passage on earth! We see the weeds, grass, and animate life die and molder to dust constantly before us, and in their places, the same spring up again, rotating the grand and universal productive principle of nature!

In the creation of each class with the power of self-production in part, as in most of inanimate matter having seeds; and with a dependence on opposite genders in part, to produce their kind, we see the *great design* of God in his *order* of forming matter into bodies, whether inanimate or animate. We see that there was a *purpose*, or why would not all have been formed alike? or some formed without forming others? If there had been no *design* throughout, inanimate matter or bodies might have been formed, without forming animate, and consequently there would not have been any animate matter to have eaten up the inanimate! Or God could have formed man with none else, not the meanest animal, or *he* could have formed the lowest, and higher class of animals, but not man, the highest class. In none of these cases, the creation would have been finished and complete, for it would have been without links, and consequently without that mutual dependence which we see exemplified in the order of nature,

which, as related in the first chapter of Genesis, is *pronounced complete and finished by God himself*.

Thus we perceive a *design* in the formation of matter into bodies of whatever shape or kind, whether inanimate or animate. And we behold them as they now exist, and if we have faith in one production or one principle, as in the case of seeds generating their kinds, and in the case of the lowest and lower class of animals fructifying with each other, and producing their kinds respectively, as we see them every-where around us; what reason can we assign that God should have parted from his general law of production, when *he* ascended to the scale of *existences of colors*, possessing degrees of humanity, and walking erect, and to the class—man? To show and indicate a perfect consistency in *design* and *purpose*, how could God have departed from the first law of production in herbs, and seeds, and fruits, with reference to the existences of colors and man? and to have shown it in the one, would imply a necessity of indicating it in the other, or *his* great work would have been formed *in vain*! Hence, we must conclude that every particle of matter took its form through *design*, with the power of self-production respecting its kind, as first ordered and as consistently pursued till *his design* ascended to existences of colors, and to man!

That a *departure* from his *design* of each body producing his kind, when *he* arose in the *scale* of his production, and when *he* was closing *his* great workmanship, would be too inconsistent to impute to Our Great First Cause! It would imply that *he* is like *man*, an inconsistent being, frequently without *design*,

therefore, without a knowledge of *his* actions in future! The book of nature is before us, and we have turned over its leaves with great and assiduous care; and we must conclude that God was as impartial and as consistent in *his* creation of man and *existences* of *colors*, as *he* was in that of the lower and lowest of animal life, and of inanimate. Hence man, the white man was created in *his* Image and after *his* Likeness, acting as *his* vicegerant on earth, and holding and having absolute dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and over every thing that moveth on the earth. This is the organic law of God, and as old as creation, will exist with creation, and is a part and parcel of creation, as herein proved by the organization of matter! And what skeptic will deny this *order*, when his mind is open to read the book of nature and the laws of creation. If God had not manifested *design* in creating man, the white man, distinct from the existences of colors, making each produce his kind, why would we see in the former or white race, eyes of various colors, when we never see blue or gray eyes in *existences* of *colors*, but always black;—this indicates *design* with reference to both, otherwise we should behold blue eyed negroes, which would be a libel on their natures and organizations. Therefore, we see uniformity in the latter, but irregularity in the former. This proves a distinction, and in fact, a total separation with reference to their common origin as much as there is with reference to the common origin of a codfish and herring, or of the codfish and the shad. No down-casters will pretend to say that these fish had a common

origin, because they can swim and *understand* each other; and if God is so mindful of their separate origin, as to say, "Let each produce his kind," would *he* be less mindful of man and the *existences* of *color*, as to saying, "Let each produce his kind," in the order of creation?

In the whole of this chapter, that is, the first chapter of Genesis, it is easy to perceive that God had a *design* in all *his* doings; and no one can pretend to doubt but that he finished *his great work* in six days, and "beheld, it was good." If so, they doubt the authenticity of the Bible, the sacred word of God.

In connection with the view of slavery, for a few of the past ages, nations, who have been engrossed in the traffic of slaves from the coast of Africa, have been stigmatized as barbarous and unfeeling. Though this fact be admitted that those who have been mostly interested in it, are wholly so, yet the consequences flowing from it upon the savages of Africa have been most prodigious in the development of a higher order of physiological features. And why is this? What naturalist can tell? Especially, in all cases where negroes commingle solely with negresses, this has been the case.

In this we are not at a loss; for we exercise our reason and common sense, and the fact and the manner are intuitively presented to our understandings. The native Africans, for we have seen many, resemble more the chimpanzee in the projection of their heads backwards, fully at an angle of forty-five degrees. They live together in Africa without coming in contact, especially the females, with any higher

class of intelligence. *There*, they have nothing to behold that is God-like in *man*, created in the "*image* and after the *likeness*" of our first Parent.

The female *race*, whether in the savage, civilized, or enlightened state, are unique in their fancies and in their selections for companions. From external appearances, rather than from reasoning from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, they are most generally led to yield *their sacred all*. And why is this intuition in this sex? The female turns from a snake and shudders; she turns from everything hideous, and is fond of objects of grandeur and magnificence. Consequently, when in a state of gestation, and the *foetus* is recently formed, and even after it is two-thirds grown, if the female be surrounded by hideous objects of malformation, possessing more the brute appearance, this sight is constantly before her; she dwells upon it; she dreams about it, and fears that her young may look like that which she dislikes and hates. Nine times out of ten her young will resemble what she hates. Why is it? It is because she is not surrounded by males, to whom she can look up with respect and reverence, *after whose image* she may cast her young in thought! If she is ever surrounded by objects of delight and pleasure during gestation, and is constantly in company with the highest order of intellect, and a countenance denoting the height of cultivation, how poorly she would *recompense* her Lord if she had a being of malformation and hideous looks! It would denote the wandering of the *mind* to such objects.

This is the law of nature which most generally

governs production. It seldom deviates from the objects which surround it. Hence, we are enabled to see national features, as in the English, the French, the Germans, the Spaniards, the Italians, Greeks, Romans, Turks, and Americans. Where there is little intercourse with foreign nations, the national features are far more prominent. Hence, we must conclude that the African negresses, with their consorts, when brought to America and put upon plantations, not unfrequently impress the features of some refined and intellectual white man upon their offsprings, though there be not one *iota* of *admixture* in the blood. And why is this principle thus? Because, on the part of the negress, there is a fondness towards that superior personage in the white man; she contemplates with all *animal instinct* the change in herself to make her better adapted to the one beyond her reach. She looks upon him as a superior in the *whole estate* pertaining to man, and admires him as her *master*, who is full of expressions of kindness to her.

During the gestation of the negress, and at almost every stage of it, she beholds near her the *image* and *likeness* of the Creator in man; she sees his noble and refined bearing, which creates in her a desire to imitate him; for this desire to imitate man is well known to exist in the apes and Africans, and others of color. Hence there is seen the influence which the desire and spirit of the negress will produce upon her offsprings. This is the reason, that is, this constant contact is the reason, why the negro race of America is more advanced in the general contour of their

physiological features than the native Africans, who lack this contact. Hence it is easy to see who are the *friends* and *missionaries* in the form of advancing the negro race, whether it be *those nations* and *those people* who hate their contact, and want them alone by themselves, so as to prevent this *innate desire* to mold the young after the *image* and *likeness* in man! This mere permission to live in contact with God's chosen race, and to be thus allowed to mold their offspring after this race, in *contrast* with the view which *tender-hearted Abolitionists* take, with reference to the African race living alone, with here and there a *deformed missionary face* sent in among them to preach the Gospel and extort, is a sufficient indication to tell who are the real *friends* of the black race, and who are willing to conform to the *command* of God in the first chapter of Genesis, verse 28, wherein "God blessed man and the female, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over *every living thing that moveth upon the earth.*" We affirm that slave-holding communities and nations, not those who *enslave their own species*, but those white races who "subdue" the subordinate and inferior existences, are those who walk according to the letter and spirit contained in the *commands* of God, as seen in the first chapter of Genesis.

Though they labor for those who obey the commands of God in subduing and teaching them to labor, yet behold the indulgence and humanity in carrying out these commands; when the white female, the

noble consort of 'man,' from sights which are hideous and uncouth in the black race, allows them about her during gestation. She fears not the *deterioration*, and beholds her consort, created in the *Image*, and after the *Likeness* of the Almighty; she is full of humanity to her inferiors, without fear and trembling at the consequences, which, in commingling with them, might be stamped upon her offsprings. Is this characteristic not God-like, in contradistinction to that of those *persons* who cry out relief, relief to the black race, but who give no relief, and who disobey the injunctions of the Almighty in releasing those whom they are commanded to 'subdue,' and for what? a wise purpose, to till the soil! and supply the happy and abundant sustenance for all races!

Over the commercial world it may be well to cast our eyes, and see the avocations, pursuits, agriculture, and commerce of those nations of color, who are large producers, in the way of *tribute* to our *ships*, to our superior *commercial knowledge* for *outlets*, to our love of *adventure*, and to our *superior courage and military spirit*! In this sense the *Europeans* have subdued the most of the *Asiatic nations*, who are forced to pay tribute. In this view, behold the East Indies, and China, and Africa, who have no *equal commercial relations* with the former nations. Those European nations, whether directly or indirectly tinctured with Abolitionism or not, are most pious observers in carrying out the commands of God in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, wherein one clause says, 'subdue it,' that is, the earth, and another says, 'have

dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth !

Abolition England is most assuredly a model heroine in all the exalted movements she makes in order to elevate *existences of color* and place them on a *par* with her own white citizens. She manifests this in all her doings, and in all her causes to revolutions. The scope of her beneficent kindness was not sufficiently large in the West Indies for the exertion of all her most *polished philanthropy*; sure, there, she set her few slaves free, not through *tender mercy*, for she understands and practices well the injunctions imposed on the subordinate and inferior existences, as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, verse 28th. She has extended all of her remaining pure philanthropy even to the East Indies and China, and is bestowing her most generous clemency and equality on those Asiatic nations, with fearful emotions, like a dear mother and father, in the way of taxing them and imposing tribute on them, to *merely pay* the *slight* or *incidental expenses* of civilization, that is, to *take* her *commercial* products for what she sees fit to demand in *exchange* ! There is no *slavery* in this tribute and enforcement to trade, specifically and ironically speaking; but it is *enslaving nations* upon nations to the *proud wheels* of her *commerce* ! Are Americans blind to the *special pleadings* of Abolition England's philanthropy in the West Indies, where, by her acts that took effect there through Wilberforce, the champion, she sought to overthrow our vast empire of wealth, in our *institution* of slavery, by *commissaries* and *agitations* in our midst, and then in an agricultural

and commercial view, to place herself in position, by her vast fleets and empire, to be mistress of the ocean and of the earth? Do Americans not see this usurping ambition of that England, these departures of her's from her main design, in order to gain advantages over nations in apparent sisterhood with her? What does she know, practice, or acknowledge, but movements to the accomplishment of her *designs* and *ambition*, let them be over the blood of the innocent or the command of God! She blushes at principles, like a maid in her teens, who, *perchance*, sees a boar near her *trail*! Thus, does Abolition America try to blush, etc., etc. In this picture you see the secret springs to her boasted philanthropy! She was then the largest manufacturing and commercial nation in the world. She knew that she would lose little in the overthrow of her slavery in the West Indies; she knew that, by the means of Abolition emissaries, schooled by Wilberforce, she could plant and cultivate the same elements in the non-slaveholding States of the United States, in appealing to their passions, prejudices, philanthropy, and the hatred of one section living by the exercise of authority over subordinate existences, at the expense in the other of complying with all the requirements of the letter and spirit of the Constitution! O, our fellow countrymen! wherever we turn our eyes, North or South, East or West, will you let that wily *Abolition foe*, that implacable foe, that has twice openly tried to crush us as a nation, now secretly, by her machinations, destroy our nationality, all our future hopes of pro-

gress, development, civilization and enlightenment, through the means of her Abolition emissaries!

England, or the British Empire, at the present day, is less, by three fourths tinctured with abolition notions, than she was thirty years ago. As we may infer from her public journals, she is decidedly pro-slavery, and sees by experience, that nothing is gained by abolitionism. As lands become worn out comparatively by slavery in the temperate regions of the earth, as in America and Africa, slavery will progress to the tropics in either hemisphere, and there work out its great Destiny.—You abolitionists, you know not what you are doing! You believe not in the Bible, nor in the letter and spirit of our Constitution! In spirit and in fact, as we have clearly proved, from the first chapter of Genesis, you believe not in the Bible nor in the commands of God! How then, by the *forms of oath administered* according to the *polity of nations*, are you to be held *accountable* to aid in supporting our national *Compact*? Your past history and acts demonstrate the deeds you have committed, and are committing! From the evidence brought against you, when tried by the first chapter of Genesis, and the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, with the decisions of the Supreme Court thereof, reason and common sense condemn you as Atheists, as believing in a “higher law” than that of God or the Constitution; they, by the evidence adduced from your leaders’ declarations, condemn you as excommunicated from the pale of civilized society, and as contrabands in it; for every member of such society must found his belief on a

Great First Cause which pervades every thing;—or else, when called to bear testimony, what obligation would there be for him to bear true testimony, unless he swore upon the Bible, which would necessarily involve faith in it, or affirmed by raising his hand to Heaven, which would necessarily imply a belief in a Divinity. These are not forms without gr^{ave} and serious responsibilities, and the nature of a perjured oath you all should know; and before you should ever be permitted to take an oath to discharge any office in life, your worldly acts should be made to correspond to the order of creation, and an acknowledgment of a Great First Cause!

Cease then your persecution against slavery, the specific Divine Institution *inaugurated* in the *beginning* by God himself, or *words are empty sounds* in the *first chapter* of *Genesis*, and you will put to *death* the rebellion, that shakes our *earth* to its *center*! Know this, and act upon it;—it is the salvation of our country! Rebellion would die the *death* of a *mushroom*, were it not for the untiring and persistent exertion and agitation of Abolitionists! It would have no subsistence; it would be like the flame surrounded by marshes with a blade of grass here and there, when it could be only imperfectly communicated; it would die for want of wind and fuel!

Peaceable secession can be borne in no form of society in free governments, nor can it exist in monarchies; for in the former the majorities are *presumed* to rule, and the assent of the minority is required to conform to a prescribed *rule*, like a *constitution*, beyond which the majority can not go, constitutionally. If

under a written Constitution, the majority acts in accordance, in all respects, to the *letter* and *spirit* of that Instrument, the Government so acting, has a *perfect right* to exact obedience to the Compact from the minority; for the Compact was *instituted* for the good of all; *but if* the majority should manifest their intent in their elections, and in the choice of their officers, and in their passing of acts in flagrant violation of the *primordial law* of the land, and of judicial decisions, and let this be of a continuance long enough to show to all *mankind*, that there is no *peaceable solution* of the *points at issue*;—under such circumstances and at such conjunctures in the progress of a people, all mankind contend that they have the inherent right to revolutionize, having duly presented their grievances to their oppressors, and demanded *an acquiescence to the Constitution!* Otherwise, if secession could be tolerated at *pleasure*, governments of a popular form would be overthrown at *every election*, and there would be no peace; or the majority would be dictators over the minority, tax them at will for objects foreign to the government, and consequently sequester or confiscate their property, because they contend for an honest and faithful interpretation of the Constitution!

Monarchies can, no more than Republics, bear disintegration; but the inherent right to revolutionize, when oppressed, the minorities most persistently and rightfully claim, among all nations and at all times, on due representations to their oppressors!

The greatest study of man should be the art and science connected with a perfect government; and

if we could exercise our reason on this subject, we might enlarge somewhat upon a form of Government, possessing attributes of the highest order, of which man is capable in his present progress, in view of the perfection of that Government which God exercises over us all ! If it were *possible* that *man* could be created as *perfect* as God himself, the best form of government would be, in such a case, absolute monarchy, wherein one perfect man would exercise sole power ; for such a government would resemble a perfect family household. No right would be invaded with impunity, nor would a wrong go unredressed. This is the chief art in government ; laws should be simple, to the point, and few of them, with the essence embraced in a few words, to avoid complicity, contradiction and litigation.

No man should be appointed to official trusts till he had arrived at forty, fifty and sixty years, according to the trust ; and then he should not be the recipient of such without having gained experience as to the official discharge of the trust, by having served as subordinate to a predecessor who had faithfully discharged that trust. As this form of government cannot be obtained, on account of the imperfection of man, and as all governments of which we have any knowledge contain but little which exalts them above a common mob—wars are waged for what, by the most of them, only to satisfy an animosity, or gain aggrandizement by the spoils of war ! Hence a people that would be at peace, are forced into war for self-defence. This is the result of the forms of government. In order to arrive at a knowledge,

with reference to as good a government as we can now form out of man, owing to his progress towards enlightenment, we may go into a community of one hundred voters anywhere in the United States, and trust by the decision of three-fourths of that number on any point of legislation ; and why ? because there are so many interested in self-protection in such community, and represent property of the same kind ; hence they will watch each other's interest. Six men are easier influenced than seven or eight ; for six would be a bare majority in ten ; but seven or eight would be one or two over that number, and hence it would be less difficult to influence six men than it would seven or eight men. In this manner, no candidate should be elected to office, of whatever kind or *respectability*, without having three-fourths of the votes in his precinct, district, or State, or United States ; consequently, no sectional issues could be tried, with any hope of success. No man in such a government should be eligible to office in any capacity till he is forty, nor to that of legislator and congressman till fifty, nor to a judgeship, of whatever rank, nor to the governorship, nor the presidentage, till he has arrived at sixty years of age ; and then only from his rank in knowledge, morality, and experience in public affairs, from having served in subordinate capacities with men of that rank ! Legislation, as it is now carried on through the world, and especially in Republics, is mostly the impulse and creature of passion and revenge, and consequently, possesses no manly virtues and no desired effects ! Bare majorities are easily obtained by *intrigue* ; but

it would be far more difficult for seven or eight voters out of ten of the community of voters to inflict an injury on themselves, because they would have a wider and a more diversified interest to watch; and hence latent virtue would arise in favor of the government; and because bare majorities will not be as watchful as seven or eight out of ten voters, on the same principle as six cannot do conjointly what seven or eight men can conjointly. Consequently, no bill should be passed without receiving the assent of seven or eight-tenths of both branches of the Legislature, or of Congress thereto; hence, laws would have more character, and a nation would be justly proud of itself; and *such* would really form the machinery of national pride!

By some, it is argued that such a form of government would not work; for they say, notwithstanding the permanent feature embraced in such a government, that no candidate could be elected to office. We grant that it would be difficult to elect candidates who could not adapt themselves to the views of seven or eight-tenths of a district or a State. In case of life and death, in which a fellow-man is to be tried for his life, a jury of twelve men is empannelled and sworn to decide according to the law, and the facts as presented by the witnesses. If the facts go against the man, the twelve jurors must agree before the Judge can sign the sentence of death. On the same principle of reasoning, is it not equally as important for the vigor and life of a country that seven or eight tenths of the community should sign its *warrant* or seal of election, in order that *each man's*

rights should be respected, as it was in the one instance with reference to a man's trial for murder? for common sense teaches us that at each election, a country's vitality is tested; public credit is prostrated; and a general commercial stagnation ensues till after the election! This will bear consideration and discussion; and in the main, it is less objectionable than bare majorities.

Much has been said in the Northern portion of the United States and in Europe also, with reference to the immorality of Southerners—that they are any more so, the white foundlings will not testify; the standard of virtue in any country depends on the white females, not on the males.—We expect little of man, but much of woman; and during a twelve years' residence in the Southern part of Louisiana, in a country village, we cannot record one white illegitimate. The law in that State pays no tribute to such departures from immorality; and consequently woman knows that the whole responsibility rests on herself, if she cannot command the affections of him who has caused her to leave the path of virtue! Here, woman feels and knows herself's dependence!

That there are cases of illicit intercourse between the negresses and the white men in the Slave States, no observer pretends to doubt from the *consequences* which force themselves to our sight and consideration. This vice is indulged in by the lower class of white young men and old, who think not of consequences! In every Slave State there is a special enactment, prohibiting the marriage of a white man or

woman to any *existence* of colors; and public opinion chastises him, guilty of illicit intercourse with negroes. The punishment, for this offence against nature and the command of God, in the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, should be severe and unequivocal!

Such a law most rigidly enforced in the Slave States by men of well balanced minds would be attended with advantages fraught with incalculable benefits to the promotion of marriages more rapidly between the whites; and hence the *State* would be strengthened in her numerical numbers of this class. Whereas, the mixed castes weaken it, have a demoralizing effect upon it, and are in opposition to natural law and the command of God as explained in previous remarks, referring to the first chapter of Genesis.

No one denies but that there are such abuses against nature and God's command in the *Slave States*; however, every thinking man condemns it, whereas, in some or many of the free States, and under the European laws, it is no offence against the *laws*, against nature, nor the command of God, to permit a white man or woman to marry an *existence* of color, and rear in the face of *prohibitory nature*, and the *prohibitory command* of God, offsprings in deterioration of the *Image and Likeness* of God! What a *sad* and *demoralizing* picture of the *moral law* is here presented to our *understandings*, and to our conceptions of *right* and *wrong*! No wonder imbecility is in your joints! O, ye Praters! With reference to our country, we are national, and constitutional men, knowing no east, no west, no north, nor no south, but every por-

tion of our whole country alike; and these views and sentiments have been forced on our reason from reading the debates in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, that boasted heritage and palladium of our liberties. We abandon all parties when they, in spirit or in fact, depart from this *written law*, and the *commands* in the first chapter of Genesis. There is no *ism* in our composition, to lead us from the path of duty marked out in the Constitution, and the *first commands* of God! Let each American rectify himself according to these written laws in every portion of our once happy land, and our fraternal conflict would cease, forever cease; and love and friendship would spring up, where hate and distrust now reign with terror and dismay! Unity denotes strength,—disintegration denotes weakness,—which will you choose, Oh, our fellow-countrymen?

In support of the positions which we have taken, in defense of slave labor over free labor in Southern and tropical portions of America, with reference to felling the forests, draining the swamps, and reducing the lands to a firm state of culture, we will quote an article of ability from the Louisville Journal of June 27, 1862, wherein much valuable information is presented, with regard to the natural increase in population between the North and the slave States. The article alluded to reads thus:

“ We have shown the falsehood in the assumption that the Southern States on account of negro slavery do not increase as they should in population. We have shown that the Northern and Southern States

began, in 1790, with nearly equal aggregate population; the North about a third of one per cent. the largest, and now, after the lapse of sixty years, in 1850, the real growth of their population, aside from foreign accessions, is nearly equal, although in the South more than one-third of the population was negroes, who are not quite equal to the whites in capacity for increase, and who are still one-third of the whole population.

So far from negro servitude having been detrimental to the South, nothing is more certainly proved by experience than that negro slavery has been one of the mainsprings of its progress, and that if the delusions of the Abolitionists had obtained currency among her clear-sighted and practical statesmen at the establishment of our independence, the South would have been in reality the least progressive, poorest, and most benighted portion of the Union. It would have been, in fact, nearly as unfortunate in all respects as it is now FALSELY DECLARED TO BE by those who wish to revolutionize and overthrow its industrial system which has built up its great wealth.

Were we disposed to fight the devil with sulphurous flames, we might turn upon the Abolitionists their own game of fencing with statistics, and, in their own *ad captandum* way, ask them how they dare compare their own meager and miserable social system with that of the South—we *might* point to the fact, that in the New England States, for sixty years, up to 1850, the rate of increase for every ten years oscillated from twelve to twenty-two per cent., while in the southwestern States, their political anti-

podes, the increase in similar periods was from 54 to 271 per cent. The increase in Massachusetts from 1800 to 1850, varied from 11 to 20 per cent. every ten years, but in Kentucky, at the same periods, it has been from 13 to 83 per cent. The increase in Pennsylvania during each of the five decennial periods of this half century was from 27 to 34 per cent., but that of Tennessee was from 21 to 147; the average being 72 per cent. A great many such contrasts might be made in favor of the Southern States—but we repudiate such reasoning—these detached facts which Abolitionists handle so freely are entirely deceptive—the grand aggregates of growth throughout our country everywhere alike showing that our population everywhere grows steadily about three per cent. per annum—fast enough, thank heaven, to repair all the slaughter and destruction wrought by political incendiaries.

If the growth of population by its own increase (not by importation) be a proof or test of the excellence of the political or social system which governs a country, certainly the American system of freedom for the white man and domestic servitude for the black man greatly surpasses any system which the old world exhibits in its results, and is rivalled only by the American system of freedom for the white uninfluenced by the presence of the black population in any considerable numbers. In comparing the growth of the Southern States with that of European kingdoms we observe that in fifty years, from 1800 to 1850, the white population of the Southern States rose from 1,702,980 to 6,222,980—nearly quadrupling.

From 1790 to 1850, sixty years, the increase was very nearly quintuple. The same kind of population in Great Britain, with all the advantages of accumulated capital and skill, but with different institutions, increased in the fifty years, from 1810 to 1851, from 15,800,000 to 27,475,271, lacking four million of duplication. Thus it appears that the social system of the Southern States produces more than twice as favorable results as one of the freest and best regulated governments of Europe. Russia, less progressive than England, advanced in 67 years (from 1783 to 1850) from 37,400,000 to 63,088,000. France in 89 years, from 1762 to 1851, advanced from 21,760,000 to 35,783,170, an increase of only 69 per cent.—about the same which the Southern States achieve in 20 years.

If, then, our Southern society so vastly surpasses all the conditions of social organization which the world has heretofore seen, an American statesman, or any intelligent politician, whose heart is not dark with malice or jealousy, would proudly point to that portion of his common country as an illustration of American superiority, instead of striving, like Sumner and Greely, and their followers, to blacken its reputation abroad by traitorous slanders. Even if it were true that the Northern States had exhibited somewhat more vigorous progress, would that have justified denunciation against States which had so far surpassed all progress in the world's history? But if they have not; if there is no greater progress anywhere than the Southern States have exhibited, what can we think of the deliberate malice which would

so persistingly and slanderously assail them for the infamous purpose of driving on the Federal authorities by the violence of sectional hatred to violate their constitutional rights, or the still more infamous purpose of exasperating, embittering, and prolonging a fratricidal war.

In defense against this insidious mode of assailing historic truth, we are compelled to make comparisons which we would gladly avoid. We scorn the spirit which would prompt the fellow-citizens of a republic like ours to institute invidious comparisons between States which have filled the cup of honor to the brim, in order to show that, in some respects, particular States or sections are less worthy than their neighbors, and to indulge in a sneer at some real or fancied inferiority. Stars may differ from stars in their glory, but in the American constellation all are bright by their own absolute splendor.

We are compelled, however, to follow the calumniator in his invidious labors.

In what respect can superiority be claimed for the Northern States over the Southern? What are the points of difference and comparison?

The free white population of the North and the South, the *citizens* of our country are the people of whom we speak and for whom we calculate the results of social systems. We do not run our parallels between the white population of the North and the negroes of the South, for no one, not even an abolitionist, would think of such a comparison. Nor do we compare a mixed population of white citizens and negro slaves with a pure population of white

citizens. Such comparisons could only show that the white man is entirely the superior of the negro—a proposition which needs no illustration. Here at the outset we must protest against the juggling sophistry by which these comparisons between the North and South have been perverted to the purposes of deception. Our principal inquiry is that which relates to the welfare of our citizens, whether they do better by holding the negro in industrious servitude as at the South, or by leaving him to his own free course as at the North.

We do not aim to inquire what are the comparative merits of a certain amount of population, including negroes, as at the South, and a similar quantity of population at the North, composed almost entirely of whites, because we are now investigating the question whether blacks at the South equal whites at the North—we wish simply to ascertain whether six million of whites at the South, owning and controlling negroes, fare any better in progress than six millions of whites at the North, who own no slaves. If they do better, then their system is the best—if they do not, they should abandon it.

And here is the fraud. Abolitionists profess to elucidate this question, but they do it not by comparing the conditions of the white population North and South, but by comparing an aggregate of whites at the North with an aggregate of whites and negroes at the South, a comparison which does not relate to the question.

The question which we need to illustrate is, what is the best policy for us, *the citizens of America*—in

what manner should we dispose of our African slaves? Is there any advantage in making them free negroes—is there any disadvantage in retaining them as they are? Have the white people of the Northern States, almost unincumbered by the negro, achieved any better results in social progress than the white people of the South, who have been blessed or cursed by the ownership of negro slaves? Is the damage done to the Southern people by the ownership of slaves sufficient to prompt them to pay the expenses of sending them off; and is this damage to the South sufficient to justify the North in spending millions of money and oceans of blood to relieve the suffering South, by violence, from negro slavery? all from the purest and most saintly benevolence!

That the *white population* of the South has been as prosperous and progressive as that of the North we propose to demonstrate. But how has it been with the negro population? Is emancipation of negroes a measure of enlightened philanthropy for them, or is it but an uncertain experiment, the results of which depend upon many conditions? We propose to show that the negro emancipation of abolitionists cannot improve the condition of their masters, the white race, and that it will be equally unsuccessful in benefiting the negro.

If the growth of population be a criterion of its health, happiness, virtue, and prosperity, it furnishes us the readiest mode of testing the comparative merits of the slave negro and free negro system as regards the negroes themselves. We have a great deal of contradictory testimony upon this subject—the

large majority of observers, however, confirm the general opinion that the free negro population is a comparatively worthless portion of the community, and that the condition of the negro in this country has not been materially benefitted by emancipation. Let us appeal to the census.

Without going through the details of population by States, we consider at once the general ratios of increase for the whole colored population of the slave-holding States. In this record, we can see the two systems working side by side through a period of time sufficient to settle the question.

Table of the ratio of increase of the whole colored population every ten years.

IN THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

	1808	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
Per cent.	33.11	38.52	30.04	32.23	23.51	27.40

IN THE NON-SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

	23.01	27.19	15.43	15.65	21.80	14.28
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These are eloquent figures—they tell the whole story of want, improvidence, degradation, ignorance, disease, and death. The slave negro population in the United States has advanced from 657,527 in 1790 to 3,204,313 in 1850. The negro population of the non-slaveholding States, notwithstanding the many thousands added to it by emancipated negroes and by fugitives, has advanced in the same time from 68,479 to 196,025. Thus, while the slave population under the fostering influence of Southern institutions has rivaled the most prosperous portion of the white race in its progress, and nearly quintupled in sixty years, the less fortunate portion of the black race in the

North, deprived of the protection and friendship of the white race, has not even tripled its population. We must also bear in mind that a considerable portion of this increase in the North has been derived from fugitive slaves. In 1850 the number of fugitive slaves not captured was 1011. If we estimate the number of 500 per annum from 1790 to 1850 it would amount to 30,000, in addition to which their natural increase must be estimated. Moreover, if the negro desires to escape from the presence of what is called slaveholding tyranny, he would emigrate to the North as soon as emancipated, and shake the dust from his feet. This, however, is not the fact. But we must admit that the negroes of the North have not tripled their number in sixty years.

Not only the slave blacks in the South show their superiority over the blacks of the North, but the free blacks also appear to flourish better under the influence of Southern society. The free black population in the South has increased (from 1790 to 1850) from 32,357 to 238,187, an increase of more than *sevenfold*. How is this to be accounted for? We may suppose that they have equalled the free whites or the slave negroes—this would be the utmost supposable; but this would leave about 80,000 of the increase to be accounted for by emancipation—the *voluntary gift of freedom from masters to their slaves*. Of the large number thus emancipated in the South, why have so few fled from their “house of bondage,” the miserable scenes and associations of their cruel treatment, their (metaphorical) chains, their social outlawry? Why have they not fled from the presence of their

cruel tyrants to that delightful land of negro freedom where they might be lifted into a higher condition and take the outstretched hands of those who cry, "Am not I a man and a brother?" The truth is the free negro does not love Northern society; he prefers the society of slaves and masters, because the relation is one of human sympathy, to a society of hired and hirers, whose relations are mercenary and competitive. The tone of feeling generated by slavery, say what you may of its domineering or tyrannical character, is a mingling of the command and subordination of camp life with the affection and familiarity of the family. This suits the negro. If he is free, he prefers a slaveholding community; and if a slave, he greatly prefers being hired to a Southern slaveholding lady or gentleman, to living with any of the Northern population unaccustomed to the manners of the South. In all the cities of the Union, New Orleans has been most distinguished by the prosperity, refinement, and wealth of its free-colored population.

An exact estimate of growth in reference to the free black population of the South is impracticable, unless we had full statistics of emancipation. But we have no difficulty in comparing the growth of the whole colored population in the South with that of the whole colored population in the North. This comparison gives us the following contrast between the two systems for the welfare of the negroes:

Total colored population in 1790.		In 1850.
Southern States,	689,884	3,442,500
Northern States,	67,479	196,025
Southern negroes increasing nearly in the ratio of		

one to five, Northern negroes in the ratio of one to two and nine-tenths. Of all sections of the Union New England, the hot-bed of abolition, is the most uncongenial to the negro's welfare. While population generally advances in this country thirty per cent. in ten years, the colored population of New England has become almost stationary. The increase from 1810 to 1820 was but 6 51 per cent., from 1820 to 1830 less than the half of one per cent., from 1830 to 1840. 6 11 per cent., and from 1849 to 1850, 1 71 per cent. Now, as no State in the Southern country can be pointed 'out which has been as calamitous to the negro race as these facts prove New England to be, it would be well for her dogmatic humanitarians to hold their peace until they find real woes to enlist their sympathy."

In this dissertation our object has been to point out to our countrymen the advantages of progressive slavery to the South-west, showing the manifold advantages and benefits the slaveholder would acquire in moving into tropical America with his slaves, as *we* may, yea, as *we* shall acquire territory in that direction, and for that special use. In this view the North would gain *free territory* as fast as the South would acquire slave territory, and thus they would reciprocally benefit each other in a social, agricultural and commercial manner, without, in the least, proving a loss on either side. In the course of time, by this compromising spirit existing between the two sections, after *slave labor* had done its grand mission as pioneer labor in the present slave States, in felling the forests, draining the swamps, and exhausting by

cultivation, the miasmatic malaria floating in the atmosphere, let it move gradually, with proper guides to direct it to new fields, where 'man,' by retaining it, will obey the 'command of God,' as related in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. Thus if it take *century after century*, let it march to its *long home*, the *land of the tropics*, where it is *destined to work out, and demonstrate its own destiny*.

The negro, as a race, will bear no disintegration; they must be together, directed by the superior mind of the whites till they are molded by *contact with this class*, in shaping the heads of the young after the whites, to assume a position for themselves. It never can be done, except by contact, which their past history clearly illustrates and proves.

However, taking the first *chapter* of Genesis as our *guide* with reference to what shall be our doings as to them on earth, it would seem that the Almighty did not contemplate any change in his *workmanship*, nor in his commands; otherwise, Moses having been inspired, would have *informed* us in this chapter.

Therefore, we must conclude that God *communicated* all to Moses, at that time, which *he desired* we should know, respecting His Creation — His six days' labor! And there is no other account in the Bible or in the New Testament of his laboring any other period of time. All else is hidden, and we have no right to infer.

In writing upon and discussing many of the facts we have presented to the public consideration, another great object we have in view, is to awaken the

mind to thought and reflection, which, most generally, will place it aright.

In our presenting this to the public, we have no desire to sting good people; we detest fanatics and those who will not think and investigate for themselves. We deplore the condition of our country, and feel to weep over the graves of our fellow-countrymen. We desire to allay sectional prejudices by exciting men to good acts rather than to bad ones. Fearful should we be of *that man who would now raise his voice to prejudice* one section against the other; for reason teaches us that such a course of conduct, practiced by both *sections*, would never *restore* our country to prosperity and contentment, which we should all desire! In a social and political life, if we can do no good to others, we should do as little harm as practicable, ever maintaining a proper dignity of character in self-defense. To reason and common sense we should appeal, and by this means we should carry our case before the high tribunal, ordained by Conscience, to decide the merits of the case,—that grand principle planted in our breasts, which intuitively knows *right* from *wrong*.

Too often is the impression held out by Northern writers and travelers, that the poor whites, in the South, are the mere creatures of the slaveholding community. Knowledge and experience demonstrate facts. Up to within eighteen months past, we had made the South our home for twenty years, being well acquainted with the manners and customs of the people in the Southern portions of Mississippi, Lou-

isiana and Texas, embracing, by far, the richest sections of the South.

Sure wealth there has its charm ; it seduces to love, and often wins a fortified position by insinuation or storm ; the poor man and woman, if they have intelligence and merit, occupy a position in society among the rich, which make them all feel their mutual dependence on each other. The poor man or woman of intelligence and merit as often marry among the rich, as among those of their own means.

It may not be venturesome to say that 80-100 of the young men immigrating into the South from Northern sections, go there in the first place as poor young men, and after establishing themselves in business, whom do they marry ? Do they return to the land of their nativity for companions ? or do they marry some ones for whom they have formed an attachment while they were engaged in establishing themselves in business ? Few there are who return to their native homes for companions ; consequently we see a vast disparity between the numbers of marriageable ladies in the North and in the South. It is said that there are three in the former to one in the latter ; this is owing to the young men in the former seeking homes in distant and foreign lands, leaving their female schoolmates behind.

The admission of the poor young man into society in the South is as easy as it is elsewhere, either in the North or in Europe. Virtue and wealth are shy of strangers throughout the world, though in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred there is *no impression* formed as to their *inferiority*.

Do the people of the North, of the South, of the East, or of the West, *greet strangers*, though fellow-citizens, with a *perfect disingenuousness* on their first appearance? Do they not want to know their *history*, their *adventures*, their *parentage*, their *means of support*, their *morals*, and even their *religion*, before they *assent* to continue their acquaintances? *Yes, human flesh will do all this most coquetishly!*

The most unapproachable personages in the South are those who are ignorant and rich; yet they can *even read and write*, *enter and depart* from a room *politely*, sit cross-legged on a chair or otherwise, and can say *pretty Poll!* and other *domestic things*, having begun in the world usually poor, with *one idea*; but their reasons cease with their animal passions being satisfied, and lie dormant, moldering to renew again a stronger thirst than before!

But this class is not confined to the South,—it is the unhappy product of every State, of every city, town, and hamlet wherever we have travelled, to scan closely the governing characteristics, not only in the United States, but in foreign lands. Superior wealth, though it covers a clown, and hides the face of an idiot, or a head that is shaped like a chimpanzee, often attracts the fairest flower, and receives the *lavish and voluptuous smile* of those whom we should suppose to be artless and innocent! Such is beneath the *veil of life*, and wherever we walk, we notice, in commingling in society, its little incidents that amuse, and disgust one with the race of man! A knowledge of mankind shows us all this at a glance.

And the best place to read character by phrenology

and physiognomy, is to go to church, where we can see most of the heads of the congregation, or wherever else we can see multitudes, with heads uncovered. Practicing this, and observing closely the gestures of individuals, we can nearly tell what they would say and do in any case whatsoever; at least they can be drawn out by cross questions, or by an incidental interrogative!

Such a class,—such aristocracy remind us of an inflated balloon, which is filled by the means of art, and which plies itself beautifully in the *dancing scuds*, seen at a *distance*; but when punctured by a *scientific touch*, that *object falls* and *feels* as *mean* as man when let down from his high estate!

In returning more closely to our position, so far as relates to making money, we will venture to say that an intelligent young man can make three dollars in the South to one in the North, following any laudable avocation in life. Hence, when you see such a class possessed of enterprise, they go South, or to foreign lands. If the planters make money fast, every portion of the community is prosperous. This does not look like oppression to the poor; for wages are fully three hundred per cent. higher in the South than in the North, in every department of labor; whereas it does not cost fifty per cent. more to live in the South than it does in the North; and the whole country is equally as healthy, with the exception of those districts where the yellow fever prevails. The *negroes* are the *tools* of the *planters*, and justly so according to *Scripture*, yet the white men, though poor, *know* their *estate* in the *creation*, and with *manliness*

and *true courage*, *define* and *defend* their *positions*, with as much *spirit* against the *rich*, as against the *poor*!

We deny that the poor white man or woman is oppressed by the institution of slavery; for there are various avocations besides field labor, in which they can all be employed with advantage to themselves, and to those whose patronage is extended to them.

From the present excitement of the times, and the insecurity of property and of life, men are too often led to fall into new *notions*, and dispossess themselves of that property *in* the inferior and subordinate existences of colors which they hold, as we have proved, both by Divine Right, and by the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Against these innovations upon Scripture and the Constitution of the United States, we set our hands and seals, and vow to support, under all circumstances, and at all hazards, the Scripture,—the true Scripture as it is recorded in the beginning, and the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States! Will you rally and obey the command of God, and then set your slaves free, that subordinate race? Will you live up to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and then prohibit your brethren from holding their property in slaves? or moving into newly organized territories, to share a mutual blessing, purchased and obtained by mutual sacrifices? Ye skeptics! Answer, and behold the sins you have committed, in agitations, which had no foundation in nature, in Scripture, nor in the letter and spirit of the Constitution!

Until prejudices against Slave Institutions cease to

exist as a political lever in our Government, and as a means by which ignoble and nefarious minds endeavor to rise to distinction, when they know that they conflict both against Divine Right, and the letter and spirit of the Constitution, we shall never be united as a nation, nor shall we advance to higher positions than we have won in the scale of progress. We have begun the Great Decline; we as a people North and South, East and West, know it; we know our fate; it is written in the death's groans and agonies all over our broad and lengthened land, and sadness is the future prestage impressed as if by a sculptor, on every face! Read it, then turn to your deformities of mind that have caused it, and let them be before you like the apparition seen by Macbeth when "he exclaimed and said, *avaunt* and quit my sight!"

These deformities must die the death of *traitors* both to their God, and the Constitution of their Country. Laws must conform to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, or they cannot be laws, but decrees of military dictatorship! Are we prepared for this as one Great people, to surrender our lives, our property, and our sacred all? Consider it well, 'ere freedom's cup is full, and that of tyranny shall have begun!

We must be one people, with one nationality, and isms must die, though beautiful in form and capable of good, if good from isms could come; yet we can not *trust* them, they must die the death of *traitors*, both to their God and to the Constitution!

What is man that God should be mindful of him? is a question which should be ever borne in mind.

The history of the organic form of creation has been told us and we have it before our visions. He is but a *particle of matter*, the stewardship of which he has, at least, in his keeping, only a short time. By matter he is related to all nature, before the organization of matter into animate objects, and does this make him related to all organized matter, which is unlike himself, though that matter can hold converse with him? He calls his domestic animals to him; they understand him; to some he speaks and they obey him instantly, and in this act they exercise reason; and when in distress or hunger, they moan or give utterance to him when he passes them; and in this reason is exercised;—do all these acts make him a congenie being with them, except that at first they all originated from the dust of the earth? Matter stands related to matter by a series of grades from the highest to the lowest, or from the lowest to the highest, and is this any reason why the highest matter in the scale of being should put on equality with itself that of a different hue, color, smell and formation, both physical and mental, any more or less than those of grades still lower mate with each other, because they could understand each other's utterance? If there had been no design in the organization of matter into animate objects of different grades, with a manifest intent by God to make one of service to the other, all matter would have been created alike with equal forms, colors, and capacities, which an Omniscient, Omnipotent, and Omnipresent God could have done by his plastic will; but *he* foresaw what *he* wanted, and made it as we see it; hence we see his *purpose*,

and study his *will* in the *laws* of his *creation*, upon which natural and philosophical sciences are based. We have seen that man is matter filled with animated life, and endowed by his Creator above all other matter; for his reason has made him God-like. What sciences or arts soever he touches, he reduces to practice, and they tend to the amelioration of the human family, and to lighten the burthen of animate objects below man. Theology, as based on natural law, astronomy, chemistry, physics, metaphysics, mathematics, phrenology, physiognomy, geology, geography, ethnology, botany, anatomy, and in fact, the arts and sciences in general, should be studied by man on natural principles; hence he, by degrees, as his reason opens and expands in the ingathering of these branches of learning, with history, rises from matter, in proportion to the amount of light and knowledge obtained by his researches and reason, derived from that eternal spring of all knowledge — natural law, which *governs* the *Universe*! For instance, by astronomy we divide time into the different periods necessary to make a year, and foretell the coming of an eclipse of the sun or the moon; or by chemistry we tell the relation that bodies have for each other, or the repulsion they have against each other, naturally. And on the same principle of reasoning we can define inanimate and animate matter, by the study of botany, minerology geology, anatomy, ethnology, and zoology, and give each its sphere of action and location in the creation. And when such facts are proved as natural sciences fully demonstrate, according to the organic form of creation, what part of such evidence

should we set aside, because *it all might not exactly suit our peculiar notions of right or wrong*, whether founded by strained conclusions or falsely? According to botany by comparison; comparative anatomy; chemistry—the law of attraction and gravitation in bodies to unite, when related to each other by affinity; to physiognomy, phrenology, and to ethnology, we have proved man and the *progressive races* or *existences of colors* to be as separate in the law of production, which governs them, as other matter, however related, in the beginning of all things! If anatomy, ethnology and physiology are wrong in their deductions and demonstrations, then, on the same principle of reasoning with reference to natural sciences, astronomy and chemistry are wrong; hence, if we would permit Abolitionists to have their way with all their perverse notions, they would countermand the order of *nature* and of *creation*, and consequently reverse its rotation, making God an oracle adapted to their pleasure and will. This is their aim; this is their course; and it must and shall be changed, or all is lost! See the reptile curled within its folds, ejecting, with its slimy tongue, the *poisoned venom* on whatever is good, noble, and worth a heritage, in the United States, the *Constitution of our forefathers*! Proud nation! must your vitals be rent asunder by such *dastard* Abolitionists as disgrace your fair escutcheon! Oh, ye Abolitionists! Tread, oh our Constitution! these reptiles beneath thy feet, as being no longer fit to encumber the ground, and let them molder to dust, to revive in sympathy, and with a *new dressing*, so as to feel for all mankind!

The study of the human character, and to know it at a glance, should be pursued in phrenology, and more especially, in physiognomy. Versed or not versed in these sciences, our natures, however, tell us what personages are perfect as human nature can be, and what in them we like and can not avoid; though these sciences aid and abet man to further his knowledge of human purpose and human will! Woman is the great archetype in physiognomy,—for to her above all else, we look for perfect or imperfect humanity,—and these two conditions of man depend on what specimens of humanity, or likenesses are constantly kept before her during gestation! Though the woman and the man should have honest and intellectual countenances, it will not always follow that their offsprings will have the same, if during gestation, a *thief* or a *robber* with his peculiar *physiognomy*, was constantly kept in view before her, and she should bear him in mind. She would, most assuredly, mold her offspring like him; and hence it is so through the whole circle of animated nature, to a much greater extent, than we, at first in the stage of life, imagine. For instance, if you wish to see a human form resemble, in a mental and physical sense, a bull-dog, *see one of short and thick neck*; and if one should wish to see one possessed of thieving propensities naturally, see his forehead project back fully at an angle of forty-five degrees! And thus by certain fixed rules seemingly arrived at by intuition, we know the human family at a glance, their character, their force, their purpose, their will, and their magnanimity! By such knowledge, we should choose

men to fill high positions, deputized by us, for our safe keeping, and learn to have courage and manliness to distrust what our natures would shudder at. This is true moral courage, and should be practiced. There is no chance work about man; yet his form, and especially his physiological features depend most wholly on the mother, having in mind and in sight, perfect figures of humanity, during the incipient stage of *gestation*; otherwise, if there be no influence by this means, why is it that we see some marked, as if by the fright of the mother, or by what preys on her mind during that stage? The mind unquestionably gives caste to the form of the features, with reference to the *countenance*; and hence it is the province of woman to improve man, by keeping before herself in mind and sight, the most distinguished heads for ability and mental capacities, during that eventful stage for good or evil!

In this dissertation thus far we have endeavored to define the natural laws governing *man*, and those which govern *progressive existences of colors*, possessing degrees of humanity. We have seen the difference in them in mind and reason, as we have been able to see the difference in them without reference to the objects for which they were created. The organic law of Creation was something, or it was nothing altogether, and we came by *chance*;—therefore if it was *something*, it is so now, and its principles are just as imperative upon us at present, as if the creation only happened as of yesterday. This is a common sense view to take of the *organic form* of matter, as presented to our understandings by the Inspired Moses.

Common Sense is that power of the mind which, by a kind of instinct, or a short process of reasoning, perceives truth, the relation of things, cause and effect, etc.; and hence this enables the possessor to discern what is right, useful, expedient, or proper, and adopt the best means to accomplish his purpose. This power seems to be the gift of nature, improved by experience and observation. God said to nature, when he was about to form man out of the dust of the earth;—"Let us, that is, myself and nature* make man in our *Image*, after our *Likeness*." Hence, *common sense* is an attribute belonging to the Deity, and is given to *man only*,—he manifests it inasmuch as he advances to that perfection of Him, in whose Image and after whose Likeness he was created. Natural history, in the creation, is as perfect in its series in coming down or rising up, as the matter it represents, and each part had its relative position allotted to it; hence we see that man, the white man, and the female, were allotted a position nearest to their God, in whose Image and after whose Likeness man was created. Before us is a chart of Creation, and what evidence have we, according to *common sense*, that the white man or Caucasian was not located in Asia Minor;—that the Mongolian was not located in China;—that the Malay or Polynesian was not located in Southern Asia;—that the Indian was not located on the Continent of America;—and that the Negro or African was not located in Africa; inasmuch as every *thing*, whether inanimate or animate, was located at these respective points at the time of creation, or how could they have been borne there by any natural law?

* Nature, in this sense, means all that was contributed to make man from the earth and atmosphere, except the spirit or reason, and the breath of life, which God made natural to such an organization, through *his* instrumentality.

God was, and is Supreme over this creation, and *he made* "the man and the female" to be his vicegerants on earth, with these attributes,—*reason* and *common sense*, which *he* manifests in the *economy of nature*. If these progressive *existences* of *colors*, had been created with the attribute, common sense, as the white race was;—in all their doings, progress, advancements, and developments, they would not be now so dissimilar to us as they are in the scale of civilization and enlightenment. For had all been created equal as one family;—all would have had the same spur to have stimulated them to equal advancement and enlightenment. This is not the case, which history and travels demonstrate. Therefore in reasoning, we see that the white race is the only one that has come up to the attribute,—common sense, toward perfection. This we see more clearly, when we contrast the arts and sciences, which distinguish man from the *progressive existences* of *color*. The study of authentic history, on this subject, informs us in part, making due allowances for the passions and prejudices of the writers. The standard of Common Sense, at which man should exert and stimulate his faculties to arrive at, is the book of nature. When we personify the vegetable kingdom, we see *common sense* and *natural rights* displayed in all their grandeur and magnificence, and governed by the organic law of God; otherwise, how would, or could they exist, were they like man with few exceptions, and the progressive existences of color, that jar and war with each other, while the latter not unfrequently feed on each other, when taken as captives in war. *Common sense* may be ap-

plied to an individual, when he indicates consistency and equanimity in action; and consequently the opposite, when he manifests the opposite. As it is so with individuals, thus it is with nations in their *progress* or *decline*! “In social and political affairs, *that* is *right* which is consonant to the laws and customs of a country, provided these *laws* and *customs* are not repugnant to the *laws* of God.” Hence, we have proved slavery to be a Divine Institution, according to the first chapter of Genesis, and that the *right* of *man* to existences of *colors*, to be consonant to the organic law, and command of God, as seen also in the same chapter. Therefore, this *right* to hold these colored *existences*, is a right organized with the creation, and is a divine heritage to man and to his heirs as we have heretofore clearly proved it to be; for it is coupled with *common sense* which is the most *prominent attribute* with the Deity. Any *infringement* on this *right* as possessed by man, is an *infringement* upon the organic law of God, and consequently, will meet his eternal damnation, with constant *afflictions* and *disasters*! And in proof of this position, behold the retrograde movements of the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America! They are fast returning to their original wild wastes; and thus it would be in the United States. When the Abolitionists are summoned to the bar of our God for their just sentence; the crimes they have caused to be committed; the innocent blood they have caused to flow; the widows and orphans that they have been the means of making; the desolation and waste, the immorality and vice, consequent upon their actions, will all ap-

peal to our God for a just retribution to fall upon their accursed heads ! Earth itself will tremble and blush to see them return to her for lack of stewardship, and all nature will rejoice in their final burial ; for peace again will light up the orient east, and anthems of joy and rejoicing, will be sung throughout God's Universe ! The rights of man, in contradistinction to the rights of *progressive existences of colors*, are clearly defined in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. Man, with reference to himself and his descendants could not be a slave, for his creation presupposes Divinity in Image and Likeness ; wherefore, God could not think of enslaving a part of himself ; in this, there would be *inconsistency* and the lack of *common sense*, which, by no process of reasoning, can we attribute to the Deity. The rights of the white man over *these existences of colors* consist in labor, and the control of their time. He has no right to take life, for he can not give it, but he has a natural *organic right* to enforce obedience, as seen in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. In this, he should exercise *common sense*, and be governed by it in his punishment. Such slaves have a natural *organic right* to food, medicine, sleep, rest, and protection against aggressions by outsiders ; and the master, in the exercise of Common Sense, is bound to grant them these requirements. Thus we see the organic relation of master and slave for mutual rights. Thus we see the relationship of master and slave, as *sacred* as the organic *law* that made them ; for it is a part of creation ! Therefore arises the punishment that will ensue against those that rebel against our God,

and his Divine Command! If man is afraid of future punishment after death, and believes in God and the Bible, he *would do well to renounce his abolitionism or atheism*, if he be *tinctured* with it, and appear like a man created in the Image and Likeness of God!

As relates to our Government, we believe in the literal interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, according to such comments as are natural to refined common sense; and that each and every portion of the whole community should be made to *adjust* their *circumstances* to the Constitution of the United States, not the Constitution to the circumstances of each *sectional interest*. That there is a "higher law"—the quintessence of Abolitionism—than the Constitution of the United States, made to consist of moral precepts for our special government, no man of common sense will admit, except *pedants* in *politics*, whose starlight glory is like a meteor! That this "higher law" must be made to rob Peter to pay Paul, and the whole commercial world of all our material wealth and prosperity, and in direct violation to the *command* of God in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, is a point in *ethics* yet to be *solved*! Those who press it have nothing to lose; in point of being producers of the earth, they are too *insignificant* to be borne in mind as a *class* of *producers*. It is a *political crusade* to gain power, without soul, heart, or any of those fine endowments so natural to most of mankind, except fanatics. And what will be gained by this pressure of Abolitionism except misery and poverty, anarchy and confusion, for

the pillars of organized society are being cut at their base, as seen from the *order of creation*!

Our countrymen! We have held before your eyes the full picture of such a crusade as a consequence of liberating the blacks, and have invited you to extend your visions for the observance of such misery, confusion and degradation to the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, and there behold their whole country, except Cuba and Porto Rico, with Brazil, though a paradise by nature, has the appearance of the handiwork of such miscreants as Abolitionists, in personifying themselves with the power of the Most High, by suspending his command, shrouding the once beautiful prospect in black despair, on whichever side we chance to turn our eyes for a little more light! When the Constitution of our fathers received its organic form, and its existence was rejoiced over, that formation and rejoicing were in full view of all our *conditions* as we then were and as the colonies had been for one hundred and sixty-eight years, with slaves in the most of them; and without regard to privileges granted to free or slave States, we take it for being guaranteed, that this most sacred instrument never contemplated the abnegation of any of the vested rights of the States, with reference to usages in the rights of property; for who, when the Constitution was being formed, possessing the absolute right to certain property in slaves, would surrender it upon any condition, or make a solemn compact with any parties, having in view the surrendering of the right to such property? As well might a State surrender her rights with

reference to the regulation of the marriage contract, the recording of deeds to real or personal estate, or the regulation of any of her individual concerns, as to surrender her rights respecting her domestic institution of slavery. The latter is as sacred to her as the former, and if she surrenders this under a plea of military necessity, let it come as it may, she may as well prepare herself to surrender those first mentioned also under a plea of military necessity, which would make her*an abject creature of most contemptible servitude, not daring to raise her voice in self-defence!

The pleas to surrender the regulation to the marriage contract, and the recording of deeds to real or personal property, as the plea to surrender the right to regulate the State's institution of slavery, might also be demanded under the pretence that peace could not be restored without rescinding them, for confiscation could not be wholly carried out without such, through the Constitution as it now reads, "except during the life of the person attainted,!" which, under any circumstance, we constitutionally question. Under Article 3, of the Constitution, where it treats of the judiciary power, in the second clause of the third section, we see that Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted." Attainder of treason, in this respect, and bearing to the constitution, means "the judgment of death, or sentence of a competent tribunal upon a person convicted of treason or felony, which judgment attaints.

* Which of the two is the greater, the Creator or the creature? The States created the United States Government.

taints, or corrupts his blood, so that he can no longer inherit lands." "Treason, in the United States, is confined to the actual levying of war against the United States, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." This crime is punishable with death on being proved against one by two competent witnesses, before a tribunal having jurisdiction thereof. The sentence in this case is *death*, both *politically* and *physically*, and the Constitution says that there shall be "no attainder of treason, except during the life of the person attainted." In this event, to whom shall such person's estate descend, except his heirs, on the *political* and *physical* death of said person? It can never fall to the United States for a single moment; for there is no treason proved against such a man till the sentence is pronounced, which is death, nothing more nor less; hence, when this sentence is pronounced by a competent tribunal, the estate falls to his *heirs immediately*, for the *father* or *relative*, in law, is dead to all *intents* and *purposes*, as to this life and the transfer of property; and the Constitution plainly says that there shall be "no attainder of treason, except during the life of the person attainted." The language here is plain that the United States cannot even be benefitted by the confiscation of the property of her citizens in any manner, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which the philosophy of reason and common sense fully and unequivocally demonstrate. If this clause in the Constitution meant anything else than the interpretation here given, it would be worse than the moral decrees in the Bible, and that

of equity in general, for it would visit the sin of the father or relative unto his wife and children, or relative; therefore it would make the letter and spirit of the Constitution do contrary to its intent, and further a nefarious object in persecuting the innocent, who are entitled to subsistence from some one, and from none so much as from the father or relative. Who or what must take care of the innocent in this case? the State or Government, or the property of the father or relative upon whom the sentence of treason is passed? The sentence is nothing unless it fixes a time for execution, for a sentence in *future* is none at all in law, nor in common sense. And when the sentence is pronounced the fate of the man is sealed, and as he is then dead in law, and as "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted," consequently the property of such a person goes by the effect of the letter and spirit of the Constitution to his natural heirs, whom, in this case, the State or Government cannot expect to make paupers, through the fault of the father or relative. We wish nothing but the letter and spirit of the Constitution to be fully carried out in every section of the United States, to be a free, happy, and prosperous people; but the full meaning to the very letter and spirit of the Constitution must be carried out, else we lose sight of our polar star, and inaugurate anarchy and confusion in every State, making civil war tenfold worse than it now is, or can be, under circumstances of each party, or one party, coming rightly and fully up to its essence. It gives no powers under the plea of necessity, for if it

did, an official thereof, on the same principle of reasoning, in a distant part from the seat of Government, might say, that he would abolish slavery, and every other State relation and regulation of contract, in order to hold the real estates in such section ! There would be as much sense in this as there would be in a sweeping *proclamation*, under a plea of necessity, for the manifest purpose of closing the war, which would only increase it and make it the more dreadful, and to be deplored ! Unless proclamations, in perilous times, tend to allay public excitement and make friends to the Constitution, they should be the mere creatures of a dreamy night, unfit for the light of day ! This is common sense, to the contrary, notwithstanding !

In no part of the Constitution of the United States does this instrument recognize or contemplate any control over the vested and reserved rights of the slave States, but a rendition of any "person," who, "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall *not*, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from any service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party, to whom such service or labor may be due." For, at its formation, more than two-thirds were slave States, and does it know a slave, under any act of Congress, or can it, except in passing laws to carry into effect the spirit and letter of the Constitution ? as in the rendition of slaves, and in the apportionment form for representatives in Congress ; and from these facts it was made to *protect*, not *invade private rights*. Consequently, can Congress

set a valuation upon *slave property*, and set such free, in any section, when we pass into review that the seat of the United States Government at the time of its formation, and twelve years after the Constitution was adopted, was not held in Washington, District of Columbia, but in Philadelphia.

Maryland and Virginia granted a portion of their domains to the General Government of the United States for a *specific purpose*, with no *design* or *impression* of *wronging* any of their citizens, in the year 1790, where now, in part, the District of Columbia is located on our maps. This grant was free, and made for a specific object, with a full view and understanding, on their part, that they are, with all of theirs, to be participants in the full enjoyments of all the past rights as to property, as they had enjoyed, before they granted it; for can a State give up her territory to the General Government for *one object* and permit *this* to be turned into *another*, thereby destroying the *vital interests* of the *citizens* of that *part*, without their *consent* to such *despoliation* of *property*? And, according to common law principles, in use both in Europe and the United States, the citizens had been in the peaceable possession of their real rights as to slave property in the District and State of Maryland one hundred and sixty-eight years, eight times as long as it requires to obtain a legal title to lands in any of the States, before the formation of the United States Constitution, for twenty-one years obtain this latter title. In most of the States we obtain title to personal estate, such as notes in five or ten years, by prescription, depending

whether both parties have lived in the same State, and whether any suit has been instituted within that time. These two cases are parallel with slavery in the District of Columbia, as to implied rights; and it occurs to us that they would bear a parallel consideration in law and equity; at least, such would seem the dictation of common sense. Hence, can they be divested of that right which was *perfect* in them without their consent? any less or more than can Congress constitutionally divest a man, in the District of Columbia, of his slave, even with, or without recompense. The Hon. John Quincy Adams, one among the most able statesmen that America has ever produced, and understanding well constitutional liberty and law, and the spirit and letter of the Constitution, before his death, declared that Congress had no Constitutional right or power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

This declaration of his has been the circuit round in the United States, and is received by constitutional men as sound and common sense doctrine on the Constitution. Wherefore, in order that others would respect our rights, in all cases whatsoever, we should pay a due regard to theirs, in cases of a similar nature! If this can be done *constitutionally*, which we most seriously question and deny, with reference to freeing the slaves, by an act of Congress, in the District of Columbia, and where the Government may have arsenals and dock yards in the slave States, such mischievous tendencies in legislation would destroy the *spirit* and *original intent* of the *compact*, and be ever *fraught* with most bitter and grievous *consequences* to

a *government* desiring to have a *united people*, each part discharging its *functions* without coercion!

We have been in the habit of reading the speeches and lectures of the Abolitionists, the incessant disorganizers, for a long time, to see their defence and argument. We now ask ourselves the question, what is their object, and what has it ever been from the earliest day of its agitation to the present time? and are the leaders conscientious, and philanthropic, wishing good to the American negroes, or would they treat them as the Indians are treated, and have ever been on this Continent? In the event of abolishing slavery in all the Slave States, and in the event of the confiscation of the lands in the Slave States, by military force, while both acts are fully in opposition to the Scripture and the Constitution, and in the event of settling the negroes on the lands thus confiscated, would it not be done by this nefarious abolition party, with no other object in view, than for the negroes to hold and cultivate such lands according to their domination, so long as it might suit their good pleasure? and when some of the leaders should have *dreams* to remove them like the Indians, would it not be done in like manner? This will bear consideration by Constitutional men, who unite themselves with no isms.

We have said that these Abolitionists are disorganizers in the peaceful pursuits which the Constitution guarantees to every American citizen. This we know by analogy of reason in comparing daily facts in the form of outrages on that sacred instrument, in the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and arrest-

ing men without warrant and without being confronted by their accusers, which in any light we can view it, is worse by far, than the reign of terror, during the dark ages of European Inquisition. It is in opposition to Organic Law, the sacred Bill of Rights, and the Constitution. There is no plea, no excuse for it; but the full unequivocal desire to outrage a peaceful and a Constitutional people. In confirmation of our statements we quote from the Cincinnati Enquirer, an address of General Mitchell, delivered on Sunday, October 12th, in a negro church, at Hilton Head; it is as follows:

“On Sunday, October 12, the negro church at Hilton Head was dedicated to divine service. The Pastor is to be a black man named Abram Murchison, from Savannah, of the Baptist persuasion. The exercises were conducted by Rev. H. N. Hudson, chaplain of the New York Engineer Regiment. Gen. Mitchell was present, and made the following address:”

“I have been requested to say a few words to you by your teacher, who is a good man. Any good man I like, regardless of color. I respect him as much whether he is black or white. If he is a bad man I shall treat him as such, whether he is white or black. Most of you know that I have talked to all my soldiers since I came here, and now I am talking to you, who are another set of soldiers, who have not yet arms in their hands, but who are under my protection and guidance, and in whom I take deep interest. With your past life I fully sympathize. I know and understand it all. I was reared in the midst of slavery, born in Kentucky, and know all about it.

While there many things connected with it that are pleasant, to which you will testify, there are a vast many other things that are not pleasant, and I think that God intends all men to be free, because he intends that all men shall serve him with their whole heart.* I think this is true. I am not certain. I don't know. But in any condition we can all love and serve God. That privilege can not be taken away. I care not how savage and wicked the master may be, he can not prevent you from praying in the midst of the night, and God hears and answers the prayer of all, slave or free.

But it seems to me that there is a new time coming for you colored people; a better day is dawning for you oppressed and down-trodden blacks. I don't know that this is true, but I hope that the door is being opened for your deliverance. And now, how deeply you should ponder these words. If now you are unwilling to help yourselves nobody will be willing to help you. You must trust yourselves to the guidance of those who have had better opportunities and have acquired superior wisdom, if you would be carried through this crisis successfully. And I believe the good God will bless your efforts, and lift you up to a higher level than you have yet occupied, so that you and your children may become educated and industrious citizens. You must organize yourselves into families. Husbands must love their wives and children, clinging to them and turning from all others, and feeling that their highest object in life, next to serving the good God, is to do all they can for their families, working for them continually.

* Hence, negroes from being slaves, cannot serve God with their whole hearts, ironically speaking.

Good colored friends, you have a great work to do, and you are in a position of responsibility. The whole North, all the people in the free States, are looking at you and the experiment now tried in your behalf with the deepest interest. This experiment is to give you freedom, position, home and your own families—wives, property, your own soil. You shall till and cultivate your own crops; you shall gather and sell the products of your industry for your own benefit; you shall own your own savings, and you shall be able to feel that God is prospering you from day to day and from year to year, and raising you to a higher level of goodness, religion and a nobler life.

Supposing you fall down here; that will be an end to the whole matter. It is like attaching a cable to a stranded vessel, and all the strength that can be mustered is put upon this rope to haul her off. If this only rope breaks the vessel is lost. God help you all and help us all to help you. If you are idle, vicious, indolent and negligent, you will fail and your last hope is gone; if you are not faithful you rivet eternally the fetters upon those who to-day are fastened down by fetters and suffer by the driver's goad. You have in your hands the rescuing of those sufferers over whose sorrows you mourn continually. If you fail, what a dreadful responsibility it will be when you come to die to feel that the only great opportunity you had for serving yourselves and your oppressed race was allowed to slip.

And you, women, you must be careful of your children. You must teach them to be industrious, cleanly, obedient and dutiful at all times. You must

keep your houses neat and tidy, working all day, if necessary, to have them in the best possible condition, always thinking and contriving to make them cleaner and more comfortable. When your husband comes home from the labors and fatigues of the day, always have something good and nice for his supper, and speak kindly to him, for these little acts of love and attention will bring you happiness and joy.

And when you men go out to work you must labor with diligence and zeal. It seems to me, had I the stimulus to work that you have, that I could labor like a giant. Now you know who I am. My first duty here is to deal justly; second, to love mercy; and third, to walk humbly. First, justly—I shall endeavor to get you to do your duty faithfully. If you do I shall reward you; and if you refuse, then what comes next? Why the wicked must be punished and made to do right. I will take the bad man by the throat and force him to his duty. I do not mean that I will take hold of him with my own hands, but with the strong arm of military power. Now do we understand each other? I am told by your superintendent that a gang of fifty men are building your houses at the rate of six a day. These houses are to make you more comfortable. You are to have a patch of ground, which you can call your own, to raise your own garden truck, and you may work for the Government for good wages. And you women must make your houses shine; you must plaster them and whitewash them, and gradually get furniture in your cabins, and a cooking stove. I have arranged in such a way that you will get your clothing cheaper

and better than before, and you are to have a school for your children. And you must have flowers in your gardens and blossoms before your doors. You will see in a little while how much happier you will be made. Are you not willing to work for this? Yes, God helping, you will all work. This is only for yourselves; but if you are successful this plan will go all through the country, and we will have answered the question that has puzzled all good thinking men in the world for one hundred years. They have asked: "What will you do with the black man after liberating him?" We will show them what we will do. We will make him a useful, industrious citizen. We will give him his family, his wife, his children—give him the earnings of the sweat of his brow, and as a man we will give him what the Lord ordained him to have.

I shall watch every thing closely respecting this experiment. It is something to be permanent—more than for a day, more than for a year. Upon you depends whether this mighty result shall be worked out, and the day of jubilee come to God's ransomed people."

We dislike criticism; but this address abounds with such superb assumption and bombast in the first paragraph, and in fact, all of the paragraphs, that we feel bound to expose this Demon in human form to a cool and thinking world.

It is supposed that, by candid men, this creature is acting under his *epaulcts*, which are granted him by law founded on the Constitution. That he has acted in this contrary to the Constitution, no reason-

able mind can doubt, and is consequently a perjured man, for in receiving his commission, his first and paramount oath is to support the Constitution of the United States and all laws made in accordance therewith. In the first paragraph, he places himself on an equality with the negro, in contradistinction to organic law, and consequently, in profanation of God's noble workmanship. This is a *reasonable picture* to place a white man in, O idiot, that thou wilt be in view of nature's works! The Constitution does not recognize negroes as equals, but as subordinates; consequently, his assertion that "I respect any good man as much whether he be black or white," is instigating those he addressed to affiliate with others to rise against their masters and assert their equality, in opposition to that Constitution which he is sworn to protect. He gives his birth, which shows that he is an apostate son; in the middle of this paragraph, the poor wretch has wandered from his moorings, and *travels* in doubt, for it is like the travail of woman; he conjectures, yet he knows nothing, says nothing; however, he opens his mouth to speak. Hence, the first paragraph is instigating the negroes to affiliate in assassinating their masters, and ends in mystery and doubt, not knowing even what he says, a poor, pitiful, contemptible wretch! His second paragraph opens up; it shows his schooling and his creed. He would insinuate that he went only in the capacity of a deliverer; does the Constitution recognize such commission as he holds, acting as he does in the delivery of this address? "but I hope that the door is being opened for your deliverance," is language too

plain to be misunderstood by reasoning men. This war, then, is not to unite us as the Constitution is, and as the Union was, but made to cater to the appetites of the Abolitionists in emancipating the Southern negroes, contrary to organic law, as we have proved, and also constitutional law. Oh, dupes and fools we Americans are, to be ruled by a few fanatics! Be men, and assert manly rights, founded on organic and constitutional law, in contradistinction to this assumption of power, which the Abolitionists are wielding to our total destruction. He requires the negroes to trust in those who have experience in *duplicity*, if they desire to be successfully carried through this crisis. What crisis does he mean? and is he endeavoring to inaugurate? Let the world know it; it is that of general emancipation; he thinks God will bless their efforts, that is, those of the negroes; would God bless them to rebel against his organic law, O ye white demons! How little you know of God or of his works according to physiology and natural production, when you make such beliefs known to the lower class of creation. He speaks of their education as a matter of course; poor fool! How long have the African race lived near light and knowledge, and still see their intermediate sphere, unalterable and as fixed as the sun that shines; it is a wise decree of God's organic law. They may be taught to say Pretty Poll, as the Abolitionists would have thinking men say Pretty Poll; but, what reason and sense are there in it? It would be the imitation without the light of reason, as valueless as chaff. He exhorts them to organize into families, as

if they were not in families. Families exist naturally by the production of children ; thus if a woman has a child, whether married or single, this act constitutes a family according to reason and common sense. If we do not watch ourselves, we shall prove this culprit deranged ; we do not wish it ; we wish merely to set him forth as a fair example of men of his creed, as a full Abolition *Breeder* !

In the upper part of this paragraph he says : " If now you are unwilling to help yourselves, nobody will be willing to help you." There is meaning in this, and it is as much as to say, " If you do not help yourselves to freedom, nobody will help you." This is instigating sedition and rebellion among those whom the Scripture and the Constitution enjoin to be obedient to their masters, for neither openly *grant* a thing without the *power* to *force* to *obedience*. This is common sense. Hence, in rebelling both against Divine and Constitutional law, he is doubly a rebel and traitor, to his God and his country. We seek to say nothing in condemnation of this criminal but what we gather from his address compared with organic and constitutional law, which we are happy to say we have some knowledge of, as this work may indicate. We ask none to think for us ; we think and act for ourselves, and are wholly accountable for the *intentional good* we do the world. His third paragraph assumes to know the whole Northern mind ; arrogant dotard ! He knows as much of it as he does of organic and constitutional law, if we can judge by his acts. He says that that mind is looking at those darkies ; yes, just as much as it is at the

pranks of the orang-outangs in the forests of Africa ! A good and befitting contrast ! Think of it.

In this paragraph he plainly tells the negroes the object of the experiment ; his language is unequivocal ; a school boy can understand the whole subject. It is to give them position, home, etc., etc., property, soil. How are these to be obtained, and by what constitutional right ? There is no use in having a Constitution without living up to its letter and spirit. He speaks like a man of authority in telling them what they shall do. Read and see, how absurd is the notion to elevate such negroes whose ancestors, since the creation, have been grovelling in darkness, and whose very natures and colors love darkness rather than light. He says that "God is prospering you from day to day, etc., etc." If God had, or had had a special providence for them in favor of enlightening them, that is, the negroes, would he not have manifested it by having given them capacities equal to that enlightenment, without the sycophantic and hypocritical aids from Abolitionists ? God understood his workmanship, its whole course to all eternity ; *he* knew whom *he* wished to be intelligent and formed "the man and the female" so ; the existences of colors, *he* formed as they are, in the same manner as other animates and inanimates are formed as they are. There is no chance work about corn, nor did it come from barley, any more or less did a negro from a white man, or vice versa.

There is no change for the better or the worse in Organic Law. In the fourth paragraph, he speaks as if *they* had risen, and compares their present con-

dition to a rope attached to a stranded vessel, which, if broken, all is lost. The writer presumes that he has intercourse with God; would God receive in *his* presence, such a black-hearted hypocrite, as would plead with negroes to disobey his high Organic Law, and the Constitutional Law of the United States, formed after that of the Earth, as to her position? for he says "God help you all and help *us* all to help you." This is coming down for a white man; it robs him of his Image and Likeness in view of God. In the middle part of this paragraph, we see nothing but conditions which tend to more intensify their *hatred* against their masters, and to affiliate with other negroes to rise against their masters also. This is cool and calculating. He speaks of a chance failure, and the consequences. Did this vain man not connect with his official position over citizens, his speculation in cotton in the enemies' country? what then does he care for those who grow it, except to speculate in them? Common sense teaches us that if he would use their labor, he would most assuredly use them. The fifth paragraph is characteristic with nothing very soft, nor with any thing very hard; it is very much after the fashion of Abolition preachers, who tell their congregation to keep *themselves clean*, and be *good wives*!

There is pith in this, find it, Readers; you can turn it over and over, and look on every side of it; we are not facetious; we are really in earnest. The sixth paragraph is now on hand for dissection; it assumes that they, that is, the negroes in that church, are men, possessing the white men's estate, in his telling them

what to do; yet detracts from their knowledge by his assuming to tell them what to do, for if they were really men, endowed with the Caucasian intellect, would not his advice and admonition be an insult to them? supposing that they should lack the most necessary requirements for a livelihood. He now comes to a stand-still, and says: "Now you know who I am." What imposter could assume the general costume of a prophet and go among a heathen people and utter words of more assumption, in defiance of all law? He speaks thus in a labored condition and as if clad with brief authority, and is happy to have *delivered* himself of such an abortion. Poor Creature, he has long been in severe travail. He has longed to be among those he could call brothers! What a commentary the whole of this address is on a white man thus far! He says that my "first duty here is to deal justly; secondly, to love mercy; and thirdly, to walk humbly." This reminds us of a pious negro *driver*, when he *assumes* command on a plantation for the first time. In this specious light we have never known such a pious spirit to hold out long; it is a species of artifice only to work the stronger and deeper into their affection; it is the pretention of a hypocrite clad with petty authority, that struts a peacock, with brass tinsels jingling to passers-by. Such is costume military, that hides natural deformities of mind and body. Oh, that we were Generals, like unto General Mitchell, would we not strut to be gazed at, by even such *awful fairs* as heard him thus, at Hilton Head! Under such momentous circumstances, we should *swell* an inch, yes, a full inch! for such a menagerie

of animals* resembling the human species, must have been startling, and *strengthening* to the General's olfactory *nerves*, especially if the room was closed. The General becomes very egotistic in this paragraph, even as "Great I am." Read him and ponder his mode of punishment. We said that such a man could not be trusted, for see what he says: "I will take the bad man by the throat, and force him to his duty." Now, Abolitionists, this is the mode that one of your leaders would pursue in correcting refractory negroes, which out-Herod Herod in Mrs. Beecher Stowe's most marvelous work.

How the negroes will love you for your new invention as to punishing them? Such an address will sound well in Europe, as if it issued from a Comanche savage. Do not be uneasy, readers, we have not dressed this yet; we wish to show him forth to the world in all of his grandiloquence. Excuse us, we may have to take our toddy first. We never rub anybody! He means that the strong arm of the military power will throat them; see, he is afraid of soiling his hands! He says, "Now do we understand each other? I am working for you already." What beauty there is in such work, in such threats as the above! He would persuade mankind that he was almost condescending to be a real Christian, to these poor, abandoned darkies. O, such fume, such slime, no one can be guilty of but Abolitionists! It is the apex, the climax of their morality and of their virtue. With what blandishment does he wield his eloquence as to house building, as if the negroes had never lived in houses and had never been comfortable.

* If these are *men*, why has not their manhood been proved in their own country since the creation? History tells the tale.

How much he knows, or rather, how little is he willing to say as to what he knows of negro comforts and houses on plantations in the South! He is not willing to admit that their houses are comfortable, even better provided for in winter with fuel and the substantial of life than the poor of the North or of Europe. Though the blind cannot see; he tells the female slaves or negresses what to do in the way of house-work, as if they were savages, and had not, in the form of their posterity, been under human instruction for near two and a half centuries. Poor bombast! this poor devil has still his eye on God, as if *He* had not turned him over to his own obduracy and perversity of heart. For he says, "God helping, you will all work." In all ages of the world, and among all savages, there is *something superior* to themselves, which they worship. He understands this in those negroes regenerated from barbarism, through a continuous instruction and examples of their masters. He now makes use of their master's instruction and examples in exciting them, and by calling on God and liberty to affiliate with others in bondage to strike for their freedom, and servile war, the most horrible of all wars, an instance of which we have given in San Domingo. Readers, bear this and that man in mind, and see thereby what the wretch would inaugurate! Oh, is such a man an American, related to us Americans by the dust of the earth? Oh, poor, miserable apostate, and those Abolitionists who will countenance you!

He further adds: "But if you are successful, this plan will go all through the country," and we will

have answered the question that has puzzled all good thinking men in the world for one hundred years." They have asked, "What will you do with the black man after liberating him?" Do not these several sentences conclusively demonstrate what the first Abolitionists, on the soil of America, had in view to elevate the negroes at the expense of, and in view of a servile war with their masters, if their liberation could not otherwise be effected? It requires no comments; the picture of barefaced depravity with the Abolitionists can here be read in letters of blood; it is too deep for utterance; the curtain is let down; the shade of eternal night is approaching; behold the actors, in council dark, and dismal as grim death! 'Tis on to national suicide! How can the negro be made what God did not make him? He says: "We will show *them* what we will do. We will make him a useful, industrious citizen." Had God intended that the negroes should have occupied citizenship with the rest of the world, or rather, the Caucasian race, he would not have committed the gross inconsistency in making them black and the Caucasians white. For, though corn and barley grow out of the earth, do they mix? Did God, in the 11th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, intend that they should even have fellowship with each other? If so mindful of inanimates, is it supposable for a moment that He could lose his mindfulness of the African and the Caucasian? What astute logicians the Abolitionists are! Their reason extends an inch around, and they feel frightened at their vast developments! Sagacious sages, underground donkies! Further, he

adds: "And as a man we will give him what the Lord ordained him to have." Beyond refutation and skepticism, we have proved what condition God intended to place and keep the negro in, by analogy in production, which each class bears to itself from matter original and organic. Consequently, God did not contemplate him to have any more than he has, as being subservient to the dominion of the white man. This is the unquestionable part of the creation, as fully and unequivocally proved—even if we should be *saluted* by the *august body* of the *Chicago clergy*! What mushroom upstarts in the physical world; and we think them so, in the spiritual, for they are united by electricity. In the seventh paragraph, he closes: "I shall watch everything closely respecting this experiment," etc., etc. In this he is acting as vicegerent of an Abolition clique that are running wild and mad, because the President has not issued a proclamation to change the course of the sun and earth, which would show as much sound logical sense as the one which he was over-persuaded to issue, to gain rest from the constant encroachments of the Abolition wing, knowing it to be superb nonsense. This man is caught, caged, and fed like a wild animal, that vends his reason to the sport of dogs.†

There are other Abolition generals of as little worth to the Constitution and their country as this man Mitchell; these are Generals Curtis, Prentiss, Hunter, Hooker and Fremont. They are all worshipers of inorganic matter, and of the most expert of the Abolition school, without reason or common sense. If we may judge by the past, these men are

† See their *heads* and *tails* in Congress.

unworthy of the notice of a great and magnanimous people. Generals Buell, McClellan, Halleck and Harney rank as first among Constitutional men, and excite in others a willingness to respect them.

Now is the time that *isms* must be done away with in our once happy country, in order to restore the many veins, now deplete for the want of *blood*, to a healthful and vigorous action. The double desire to go Southwest, into new fields, with slave labor, to act as pioneers in felling the gigantic forests of the tropics, draining the swamps, and in rendering their lands available for agriculture, and to let free labor fill the vacancy this produced, should be the *motive and consideration that move the breasts of every patriot and statesman* of the United States of America. Pro-slavery in the United States is understood to be a principle in favor of advancing the slave interest Southwest and South, as we may acquire territory in Mexico and the West Indies, to plant it on; and in contradistinction to the combined principles of Abolitionism and Emancipationism. The principle of holding slaves in negroes is either right or wrong; and if it be wrong, it should be done away with, under such form and circumstances as will produce as little suffering both to the slave and the master as possible; but if it be right to hold slaves according to the principles laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, in the Bible, and to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States, as formed from the deliberations of the *Convention*, as we have shown; we shall never discharge our duties to our God in "subduing the earth," especially in the tropics, and to that *concession*

which formed our Constitution, without advancing slave interest Southwest and South, into the tropics of America, its *natural home*. From the deliberations and resolves of the members forming the Convention in Philadelphia, that gave birth to our Constitution, we are convinced that it was formed and accepted with all the principles laid down in it, to be our future guide and polar star in Government. We have accepted it, and pledged ourselves to stand to it, and it cannot be altered "except by a proposition of two-thirds of Congress or of the States, and the alteration or amendment so proposed confirmed by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof." Till this amendment or alteration is made, the principles laid down for our government and intercourse with each other are as sacred as the Holy Writ, for they are founded on the principle of *doing* to others as we would have others do unto us, in like *cases* and *circumstances*. It acknowledges no "higher law," such as conscience might form in itself, and in the bosom of each member in society, in the way of an oracle, for its own government and its *intrusion on others*! With reference to slaves it says: "That no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service and labor may be due." And it further says, respecting slaves, that "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be

included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians, not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*" According to the *principles* laid down in *these two quotations* from the Constitution, we see that *slavery is recognized as an organic law of the Constitution*, for in the last quotation it serves as a basis of government, and in the first we see the *flag* of the country *thrown* around it to *mantle* it from the *scorpions*, which were known to exist in the free States. As we see trees, seeds, grass, and animals compose a portion of the *creation*, we should declare it wrong to subtract any of these from the *creation*, even by God himself; for we have been wont to contemplate their importance and utility in the distribution of the good works of *creation*; consequently, a diminution, or the lopping off of any, would derange the whole of the terrestrial system; as for instance, if heat should be taken from us, what need would there be in sowing? and thus through the whole process of nature. If the creation could be thus deranged, how easy it would be to derange our Constitution—the work of man—by annulling a part of it, or such parts as above mentioned. The effect would be the same in either, by comparison, which shows the sin of touching it. The agitation as to emancipating the slaves in some of the American colonies began before the adoption of the act of Confederation, for four years after the Declaration of Independence, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts had emancipated their slaves; and eight

years thereafter, Connecticut and Rhode Island followed their example; and the progress of emancipation so continued, that in seventeen years from the adoption of the Constitution, 1788. New Hampshire, Vermont, New York and New Jersey, had also enacted laws to free themselves from the burden of slavery. Thus early we see the spirit of *Emancipationism* and *Abolitionism* begun, which has been growing ever since; and thus we have seen the *date* of it in the United States, in the endeavor to keep sections in agitation.

If the Constitution of the United States be intended to be perpetual between the States, then all the *principles* of it are intended to be so, for it will not endure dismemberment. Hence we argue from cause to effect, that as the Constitution spreads itself over more territory to the South-West and South, it does so with all its capacities as it was formed, or it could not be a whole, but part of a machine for government.

If the two Pro-slavery principles in the Constitution which we have quoted and presented to the consideration of the public, should be duly set forth, in a *conservative platform*, adhering to the *letter* and *spirit* of the *Constitution*, it would beget more friends than legions of armies, divide the enemies to the Constitution, in such a manner as would make them spiritless in action, and make them willing to trust their all in the Ship of State! The object of the Constitution is to make every body living under it, love and admire it; and thus should be the action of all those engaged in carrying out its principles. In the

progress of time, if Pro-Slavery should become the order of *Americans*, the present border slave States will become free States, by the slaves being removed farther to the South-West, as we should acquire territory in Mexico. And thus we would be freed from the pest of free negroes, and the whole community both free and slave would be prosperous and progressive. If the slaves were white men, such as we could, in the course of time, put on an equality with ourselves, no one would be excused in the endeavor to hold them to bondage; but the case, with the negroes, is very different;—we can never put them on an equality with the whites, in the Constitutional, social, and domestic relations of life. The idea would be repulsive to the more refined sex, and but few men could endure it. Against this equality, most of the free States of the North are taking action, giving no terms to negroes with regard to citizenship, and forbidding them to enter their respective States.

With reference to the character of the negro, some hits from the New York Express, July 17, 1862, are given, as follows:

THE NATURE OF THE NEGRO.

“The errors of the Abolitionists and of Republicans (and they are fatal as they are many,) arise from their ignorance of the nature and character of the creature—African—in his half civilized condition, and when in process of being civilized. Hence, at the start, they were sure he would rise in insurrection the moment his master was involved in civil war. But there not only is no insurrection, we see, but the

master leaves the slave at home and marches off to Virginia and Tennessee to fight ; sure, quite sure, of the continued services of the negro, with whom even is left the custody of his wife and family. But all this *insurrection* being exploded, the Abolitionized-Republican is now sure of another thing—first, that if you tell the negro he is free, he will free himself ; and next, when free, that he will fight his old master—errors as great as his old one, that when civil war sprang up, *insurrection* would follow after.

Now, in the first place, of the 4,000,000 negroes, 3,500,000 are attached to, devoted to, their masters. The African is a sympathetic being, with generally a loving heart, and to a kind master, such as are nine-tenths of the masters, he is attached, and the attachment extends to the wife and children, of whom he is often proud to be a protector. It is very true that as our armies approach slavery, and that when the master flies from his slaves, the African seeks another master, in the new comer, and hence the institution of slavery dissolves ; but it is not the less true that, until the army approaches and *touches*, the institution of slavery has as strong a hold over the negro as ever. The negro, then abandoned, transfers his service from a Southern to Northern master, and that is all the change, unless, as in too many places, we white people consent to tax ourselves to provide idle negroes with Government rations, at the expense of home white labor ; or, in other words, a master is indispensable to the slave, and, unless there be a change from one Southern to another Northern master, the negro must be supported at Government expense.

The negro will work only under the eye of a master, and when there is no master there is no work. The officers and soldiers on the Peninsula have just been demonstrating all this. General McClellan has been employing negroes, and glad to employ them; but, in the first place, he could not get many of them to work without re-enslaving them, against their wills; and, in the next place, if he did, the most of them "ran away," after earning a dollar or two. To work them, then, even as aids to soldiers, it is necessary to re-enslave them; or, in other words, to make them work against their wills. General McClellan has not been permitted to do that; but when he is, doubtless, he will do over again what their old masters did with them—organize them, under overseers, in gangs—under discipline, he may call it, "military," but, in fact, it must be "slave" discipline. Now the slave's idea of freedom is this, and this only: "Freedom from work, idleness; to do nothing but to eat, drink and sleep," and when, in his estimation, he is disturbed in eating, drinking or sleeping, by being made to work, he ceases to be free. And this is not only the nature of the negro now, but it has been for four thousand years, during all of which time, without advancing in civilization, save under white protection, he has ever consented to be the slave of Egyptian, Arab, Syrian, or of any body that would take the trouble of him. Even in our invigorating Northern latitudes there are but few exceptions to this reasoning; for even here, in all respects (with but these exceptions,) the negro, as free as we are, is but a social slave, and generally so lazy, so refusing all real work, that his

children perish for want of proper food and clothing, and the race, but as replenished from the South, actually dies out.

Hence, all this Abolition-Republican idea that the negro, South, *will* work, but as he is forced to work against his *will*,—that is, re-enslaved—is exploded by the very nature and character of the negro there,—but, in its other idea, of how he will fight as a soldier against his old white master,—as there has been no experiment ever, we can not have, till we try, the deductions of experience. The Briton never brings the Sepoy from the East Indies to keep Canada or Ireland in order, nor the African from the West Indies. No modern white nation has tried to subdue other white nations with Asiatic or African; and hence, history is silent on such experiments yet to be tried. But if there be any thing in the *morale* of a man, and unless the whole character of a man born in slavery and long enslaved is changed, no negro slave can ever be brought to face white men in the field—in regiments of his own—and hence, in all probability, whenever the experiment is tried it will result in disaster to the experimenter.

But what folly is this arming of negroes, even if there were no race objections to it, and no fatal consequences of equality and fraternity with armed negroes, such as we see in the Spanish American States—when, of the 4,500,000 blacks in this country, about 4,000,000 of them are in Southern possession, and can be as well armed against us. If we begin to arm negroes, is any Republican weak enough to suppose slaves will not be armed against us too? If we

begin to recruit among negroes, is it to be doubted that they who have this raw material for soldiers will not bring one hundred negroes into the field for our one, with this advantage to the Southern rebel negro, that his master knows how to manage and how to discipline him, and that he (the negro) has confidence as well as fear of his master."

Respecting the *labor question* in the free States, that is, White labor and Negro labor, we quote the following from the St. Louis Republican, July 11th, 1862 :

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

"On Tuesday last there was a riot in Toledo, Ohio, between the Irish and negro stevedores employed at the docks in loading and unloading the lake boats. It seems that the Irish made a 'strike' and were discharged, and the negroes engaged in their places at the old prices. The Irish undertook to prevent the blacks from working, and for a time stones, clubs, knives and pistols flourished in a frightful manner, a great many of the participants receiving injuries and some bystanders being killed. Several houses belonging to negroes were demolished, and to quell the disturbance the citizens were called out to patrol the streets.

"This is the beginning of an irrepressible conflict between the white and the black races. Already large numbers of fugitive slaves are gathering in the cities, and should the Abolition policy prevail, the free States will be overrun and infested by this class of population. The negroes thus let loose upon the community must either be supported in idleness and

sloth by those among whom they come, or they must put themselves in competition with the white laborers and reduce the price of work, if they do not wholly monopolize the more common of the industrial pursuits. This will at once put an effectual check upon white immigration, and compel the poorer classes, at least, of Americans, German and Irish to take their option between absolute starvation and toiling side by side with an inferior and despised race, at wages much lower than they have hitherto commanded.

“We know nothing of the merits of the quarrel between the Toledo stevedores and their employers. It may be that the demands of the former were unreasonable and extortionate. The circumstances show, however, that the employers placed as high an estimate upon the labor of the blacks as that of the Irish, for the former were hired at the same rates that had been paid the latter. Capital rarely makes any distinction of color in respect to investments, and, unless deterred by such demonstrations as those witnessed in the Ohio city, employers will, as a general thing, take advantage of *all* competition among laborers.

“White men who derive sustenance for themselves and families by the exercise of their physical strength in hard days’ work—that large and indispensable class, we mean, who have acquired no skill, to give them advantages over others—will now have to look this question of negro competition squarely in the face. They see a pack of rabid politicians in the country, claiming to act upon the dictates of philanthropy and humanity, who are daily and hourly en-

couraging the slaves of the South to elope from their masters, well knowing that they must be harbored in the free States afterward, in the absence of any other provisions for them. Large numbers of "contrabands," seduced by the flattering tales of these mischief-makers, are rapidly filling up the towns and cities already, all being in a destitute and nearly helpless condition. The support of these unfortunate, misguided creatures must fall chiefly upon the working classes of the North in one way or another. The burden will come upon them in the shape of reduced wages, by reason of the increase of the supply of laborers, in advanced prices for the necessities of life, growing out of the taxation that will be required to maintain such of the black paupers as will not work, or in some other manner that will make itself equally felt.

"We are beginning to see some of the practical results and effects of the foolish, illogical and baneful policy of the Abolitionists and negro-worshippers. The irrepressible conflict between the white and black races has commenced. It is one that will continue to be between opposing and enduring forces so long as the radicals attempt to throw four million contrabands upon the North and West as free and equal men, to overrun towns and cities. The question is, whether the free laborers are quite ready to exchange their peaceful and comfortable homes in the North for the hemp fields and rice and cotton plantations of the South, driven thither by the black *proteges* of the benevolent Abolitionists."

The emancipation of the negro and sending him

to Africa, has as yet proved of no practicable utility either to himself, or to the society in which he lives in Liberia and Sierra Leone. For the most part he has only changed his master; as he has in both colonies to labor for a living, and this is all that he *gets*, for even among negroes, who have, for many generations, been reared by whites, of a superior order of intelligence, we see talents and developments similar to those whites with whom they have lived; hence in these colonies we see *designing negroes* who know well negro character, use the masses of those emancipated, not any better than those in bondage in the United States. For the most part they are wholly improvident, and all they desire is to eat, sleep and abate their passions; therefore they either must steal or work for a mere pittance, as they are forced to through their improvidence. In support of this position we will quote a part of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher on this subject, referring to the Harper's Ferry affair, as follows, to-wit:

“If we would benefit the African at the South, we must begin *at home*. This is to some men the most disagreeable part of emancipation. It is very easy to labor for the emancipation of *beings* a thousand miles off; but when it comes to the practical application of justice and humanity to those about us, it is not so easy. The truths of God respecting the rights and dignities of men are just as important to free colored men, as to enslaved colored men. It may seem strange for me to say that the lever with which to lift the load off of Georgia is in New York;

but it is. I do not believe the white free North can tolerate grinding injustice towards the poor, and inhumanity towards the laboring classes, without exerting an influence unfavorable to justice and humanity in the South."

What does this abolition bravado mean by the *term poor* in the above sentence? poor whites or poor blacks? He says: "No one can fail to see the inconsistency between our treatment of those among us, who are in the lower walks of life, and our sympathy for the Southern slaves. How are the *free* colored people treated at the North? They are almost without education, with but little sympathy for their ignorance. They are refused the common rights of citizenship which the whites enjoy. They cannot even ride in the cars of our city railroads. They are snuffed at in the house of God, or tolerated with ill-disguised disgust. Can the black man be a mason in New York? Let him be employed as a journeyman, and every Irish lover of liberty that carries a hod or trowel would leave at once, or compel him to leave! Can the black man be a carpenter? There is scarcely a carpenter's shop in New York in which a journeyman would continue to work if a black man was employed in it. Can the black man engage in the common industries of life? There is scarcely one in which he can engage. He is crowded down, down, down, through the most menial callings, to the bottom of society.⁺ We tax them, and then refuse to allow their children to go to our public schools. We tax them, and then refuse to sit by them in God's house. We heap upon them moral obloquy more

⁺ Beecher would do well to make the *negroes missionaries* like *unto himself*, to preach to the apostate Caucasians, instead of *conceiving even* the notion of making masons, hod-carriers or carpenters of them.

atrocious than that which the master heaps upon the slave. And notwithstanding all this, we lift ourselves up to talk to the Southern people about the rights and liberties of the human soul, and especially the *African Soul!*" By this he admits it not human, for he would have said human soul only, without adding any more to express what he felt and knew. He adds: "It is true that slavery is cruel. But it is not at all certain that there is not more love to the race in the South than in the North. * * *

Whenever we are prepared to show toward the lowest, the poorest, and the most despised, an unaffected kindness, such as led Christ, though the Lord of Glory, to lay aside his dignities, and take on himself the form of a servant, and undergo an ignominious death, that he might rescue man from ignorance and bondage—whenever we are prepared to do such things as these, we may be sure that the example at the North will not be unfelt at the South. Every effort that is made in Brooklyn to establish churches for the free colored people, and to encourage them to educate themselves and become independent, is a step toward emancipation in the South. The degradation of the free colored men in the North will fortify slavery in the South."

In this address of Henry Ward Beecher, we see clearly by his admission, with reference to his own tastes and the tastes of the New Yorkers, (for he makes use of the pronoun *we*) that our whole dissertation as relating to the *existences of colors*, to-wit: the Mongolian, the Indian, Malay and African, is based on the organic law of God; and white men cannot

help disliking to associate with *colors* different from themselves. He has told, in this address, what the white man likes and what he dislikes in New York; and the Yorkers are men of the world, and are not unlike sensible Caucasians where else they may be found. He grants the Yorkers use the negroes with himself, yet he says, "we refuse them certain privileges." In this they are not as honest as the masters of slaves in the South; for they do not tax them without rewarding them for their labor. The whole of this address shows the tastes and sympathies of the Northern people, with reference to putting on an equality with themselves negroes, or any but the Caucasian race. It is a clear, unequivocal admission of the organic law and the Constitution, respecting slavery as an existing necessity in view of the order of creation, of existences of colors before man, and of "the man and the female" last, to whom is given complete and full dominion over all else, acting on earth as God's vicegerants. We might as well endeavor to change the course of the Mississippi, or damn it up, or empty the Atlantic into the Pacific, or make a ladder, in order to ascend to the sun, as to change natural organic principles of association. We feel free to associate with the Caucasian, but as long as we have left a spark of natural and national pride, we would watch who would see us put ourselves on an equality with existences of color. And mark it, when a white man or woman so far loses his or her virtue, and pride, and morality, as to put on an equality with himself or herself, such colors; neither of such is of longer worth to the Caucasian stock.

They become outcasts naturally, and neither wealth nor position can raise them to an equality with the whites; they are shunned, disgraced, and unknown! This is right, and is in obedience to God's organic law. Let each class of creation, whether inanimate or animate, produce itself; and any deviation from this principle is an unequivocal departure from God's ordinance in his creation. Hence, why should not the Caucasian race, as in New York, act as the Yorkers do with reference to the Africans in that city? They, with Beecher, have snuffed the breeze from the organic law, and have, in part, acted upon it. Wherefore, then, not wholly? God did not create us and you Yorkers by halves! and you will not be men in the organic sense till you act fully up to the letter and spirit of the organic law, which you see proved in this work, as unpretending as it may appear to you. It is founded on the springs of organic matter, as when first brought into inanimate and animate life. Therefore, dodge it if you can.

In this connection of our work, pained and indignant as we feel towards the Abolitionists for departing from organic law, with their usual persistence in vice and crime, which all similar isms and departures lead to, we quote the following pertinent correspondence, as an extract from the Cincinnati Daily Enquirer of October 27, 1862, as follows:

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE—THE HISTORY OF THE CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE—IT WAS REJECTED BY THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS—IF ADOPTED, THE SOUTH WOULD HAVE TAKEN IT—IT WOULD HAVE SAVED THE UNION AND PREVENTED WAR—LETTER FROM EX-SENATOR BIGLER, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

We take the following from the Harrisburg Patriot and Union of October 6:

CLEARFIELD, Sept. 27, 1862.

HON. WM. BIGLER—*Dear Sir*: The Hon. L. W. Hall, at present the candidate of the Republican party for the State Senate in this District, in the course of his address to the people on the evening of the 22d inst., stated that "some Republican members of the United States Senate had voted for the Crittenden Compromise and some voted against it, and that it would have been carried had all the Southern men voted for it," or words to that effect. He also complained that certain Senators from the Cotton States had withheld their vote on the Clark Amendment, by which the Crittenden Compromise was defeated.

As you were a member of the United States Senate at the time, and acted a conspicuous part in favor of that and other measures of adjustment during the memorable session of 1860 and 1861, and must be very familiar with the facts, we respectfully request, that you furnish us, for public use, a brief history of the proceedings of the Senate on the resolution fami-

liarily known as the Crittenden Compromise, and of the surrounding circumstances :

Jas. T. Leonard,	J. P. Kratzer,
D. W. Moore,	J. Blake Walters,
R. V. Wilson,	John G. Hall,
Wm. Porter,	L. C. Barrett,
C. D. Watson,	John W. Wright,
Israel Test,	Wm. L. Wright,
Wm. L. Moore,	J. W. Potter,
T. J. McCullough,	Francis Short,
F. G. Miller,	Barthol Stumph,
J. M. Cummings,	George Thorn,
R. J. Wallace,	Wm. S. Bradley,
Isaac L. Reizenstein,	Isaac Johnson,
James Wrigley,	J. M. Kettleberger,
Joseph H. Dearing,	Wendlin Entries,
R. H. Shaw,	John W. Shugert,
L. F. Etzweiler,	Matthew Ogden,
John L. Cuttle,	W. M. McCullough,
A. M. Hills,	G. B. Goodlander,

CLEARFIELD, Sept. 29, 1862.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your letter, and with pleasure proceed to comply with your request. In doing this I shall endeavor to be brief, though it must be obvious that anything like a full history of the proceedings of the United States Senate on the resolutions familiarly known as the Crittenden Compromise, and the occurrences incident thereto, cannot be compressed into a very short story.

You can all bear me witness that in the addresses I have made to the people, since my retiracy from

the Senate, I have not sought to press this subject on their consideration in any party light. I have held that the Government and country must be saved, no matter whose folly and madness had imperiled them; that we should first extinguish the flames that are consuming our national fabric, and afterward look up and punish the incendiary who had applied the torch; but as the subject has been brought before this community by a distinguished member of the Republican party, for partisan ends, and statements made inconsistent with the record, it is eminently proper that the facts—at least, all the essential facts—should be given to the public.

It is not true that some Republican members of the Senate supported the "Crittenden Compromise" and some opposed it. They opposed it throughout, and without an exception. Their efforts to defeat it were in the usual shape of postponements and amendments, and it was not until within a few hours of the close of the session that a direct vote was had on the proposition itself.

On the 14th of January they cast a united vote against its consideration, and on the 5th they did the same thing, in order to consider the Pacific Railroad Bill.

But the first test vote was had on the 17th day of January, on the motion of Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, to strike out the Crittenden proposition and insert certain resolutions of his own, the only object manifestly being the defeat of the former. The yeas and nays on this vote were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Anthony, Baker, Bingham, Came-

ron, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Seward, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson and Wilson—25.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Bigler, Bragg, Bright, Clingman, Crittenden, Fitch, Green, Lane, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Pearce, Polk, Powell, Pugh, Rice, Saulsbury and Sebastian—23.

So Mr. Clark's amendment prevailed and the Crittenden proposition was defeated.

On the announcement of this result the whole subject was laid on the table.

This was the vote on which some six or eight Senators from the Cotton States withheld their votes, and of this I shall speak hereafter.

It is true that within a few hours after these proceedings, as though alarmed about the consequences of what had been done, Senator Cameron moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the Crittenden proposition had been defeated.

The motion came up for consideration on the 18th, and to the amazement of every body not in the secret, Senator Cameron voted against his own motion, and was joined by every other Senator of his party. The vote is recorded on page 443 of the 1st volume, *Congressional Globe*, and is as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Bayard, Bigler, Bragg, Bright, Clingman, Crittenden, Douglas, Fitch, Green, Gwin, Hunter, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Kennedy, Lane, Latham, Mason, Nicholson, Pearce, Polk, Pugh, Powell, Rice, Saulsbury, Sebastian and Slidell—27.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Baker, Bingham, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foote, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Seward, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Wade, Wigfall, Wilkinson and Wilson—24.

This vote was regarded by many as conclusive against the Crittenden proposition, for the reason that the Republican Senators, after full deliberation and consultation, had cast a united vote against it. I shall never forget the appearance and bearing of that venerable patriot, John J. Crittenden, on the announcement of this result. His heart seemed full to overflowing with grief, and his countenance bore the unmistakable mark of anguish and despair. The motion of Senator Cameron to reconsider had inspired him with hope, strong hope; but the united vote of the Republican Senators against his proposition showed him too clearly that his efforts were vain.

The final vote was taken directly on agreeing to the Crittenden proposition on the 3d of March, one day before the final adjournment of Congress, and is recorded on page 1405 of the *Congressional Globe*, second part. On this vote every Democrat and every Southern Senator—including Mr. Wigfall, who voted against the reconsideration of Mr. Clark's amendment—voted for the proposition, and every Republican against it.

As for the Cotton State Senators who withheld their votes on the 16th of January, so that Mr. Clark's amendment might prevail, I have certainly no apology to make for their mischievous and wicked conduct on that or any other occasion, but if they are

blameworthy for withholding their votes and not sustaining the Crittenden proposition, what shall we say of the Republican Senators who, at the same time, cast a solid vote against it, as I have already shown. It was no half-way business with them—they aimed directly at its final defeat. Some of the Southern Senators, on the other hand, who had withheld their votes on the 16th—Messrs. Slidell, Hemphill and Johnson, of Arkansas—by the 18th had repented their error, and cast their votes to reconsider and revive their compromise proposition, but the Republicans persisted in their hostility to the end.

Nor is it true that the votes of the Cotton State Senators, with those of all the other Southern Senators and those of all the Northern Democrats, could have saved and secured the Crittenden Compromise. They could have given it a majority, but everybody knows that the Constitution requires a vote of two-thirds to submit amendments to the Constitution for the ratification of the States. These could not be had without eight or ten Republican votes. But suppose the Constitution did not so require, what could it have availed to have adopted a settlement by a mere party vote? It was a compromise between the two sections that the exigency required. The Republican was the dominant party in the North, and no compromise or adjustment could be successful, either in the Senate or before the people, without their active support. They constituted one of the parties to the issue, and it would have been folly, worse than folly, to have attempted a settlement without their sanction and support before the country.

But no one can misunderstand the real object of the Republican orators in parading the fact that six or eight Southern Senators had, at one time, withheld their votes from the Crittenden proposition. It is to show that the South was not for it, and did not desire a compromise, and hence the Republicans are not responsible for the horrible consequences of its failure. On this point the testimony is very conclusive, and I shall give it at some length, please or displease whom it may. If Republicans choose to take the responsibility of saying that they were against the proposition and determined to make no settlement, however we may lament their policy, no one could object to that position as matter of fact; but they will forever fail to satisfy the world that the South was not fairly committed to a settlement on the basis of the Crittenden proposition, or that the Northern Democrats would not have compromised on that ground, had they possessed the power to do so. I am aware that there are plenty of Republicans who would still spurn to settle with the South on such conditions, as there are also radical fanatics who would not take that section back into the Union even on the conditions of the Constitution. They certainly can have no complaint against my views and sentiments.

When Congress assembled in December, 1861, it was obvious to every one who was at all willing to heed the signs of the times, that the peace of the country was in imminent peril; the natural consequences of a prolonged war of crimination and re-crimination between the extreme and impracticable

men of the North and of the South. The anxious inquiry was heard everywhere, "What can be done to allay the agitation and save the unity and peace of our country?" Among those who were willing to make an effort to compromise and settle, regardless of sectional, party or personal considerations, consultation after consultation was held. The first great task was to discover whether it was possible to bring the South up to the ground on which the North could stand. Many and various were the propositions and suggestions produced. But it was finally concluded that the proposition of the venerable Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) was most likely to command the requisite support in Congress and before the people. These, together with all others of a similar character, were referred to a select committee, composed of the following Senators:

Messrs. Crittenden, Powell, Hunter, Seward, Toombs, Douglas, Collamer, Davis, Wade, Bigler, Rice, Doolittle and Grimes—five Southern men, five Republicans, and three Northern Democrats. The Southern and Republican Senators were recorded as the parties of the issue, and hence a rule was adopted that no proposition should be reported to the Senate as a compromise unless it received a majority of both sides. All the Southern Senators save Mr. Davis and Mr. Toombs were known to favor the Crittenden proposition. On the 23d of December this proposition came up for consideration, and it became necessary for Messrs. Davis and Toombs to take their positions in regard to it, and I shall never forget the substance of what both said, for I regarded their

course as involving the fate of the compromise. Mr. Davis said, "that for himself the proposition would be a bitter bill, for he held that his constituents had an equal right with those of any other Senator to go into the common Territories, and occupy and enjoy them with whatever might be their property at the time; but nevertheless, in view of the great stake involved, if the Republican side would go for it in good faith, he would unite with them." Mr. Toombs expressed nearly the same sentiments, and declared that his State would accept the proposition as a final settlement. Mr. Toombs also, in open Senate, on the 7th of January, used the following language:

"But although I insist on this perfect equality in the territory, yet when it was proposed, as I now understand the Senator from Kentucky to propose, that the line of 36-30 shall be extended, acknowledging and protecting our property on the south side of that line, for the sake of peace—permanent peace—I said, to the Committee of Thirteen, as I say here, that with other satisfactory provisions I would accept it."—*Page 270, Congressional Globe, 1st.*

In addition to my own testimony of what occurred in the Committee of Thirteen, I present extracts from speeches of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Pugh, bearing directly on the point.

On the 3d of January, in the course of an elaborate speech, Mr. Douglas used the following language:

"If you of the Republican side are not willing to accept this nor the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, pray tell us what you will do? I address the inquiry to the Republicans alone, for the reason

that in the Committee of Thirteen, a few days ago, every member from the South, including those from the Cotton States, (Messrs. Davis and Toombs,) expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of my venerable friend from Kentucky, as a final settlement of the controversy, if tendered and sustained by the Republican members. Hence the sole responsibility of our disagreement, and the only difficulty in the way of an amicable adjustment is with the Republican party."

These remarks were made, as well as I remember, before a very full Senate, in the presence of nearly, if not quite, all the Republican and Southern Senators, and no one dare to dispute the facts stated.

Mr. Pugh, on the 2d day of March, in the course of a very able speech, remarked :

"But suppose that the Senator does promise me a vote on the Crittenden propositions : I have followed him for three months ; I have followed my honorable friend from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) for three months ; I have followed my friend, the Senator from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Bigler) for three months ; I have voted with him on all these propositions at a time when there were twelve other Senators in this chamber on whose votes we could rely ; and what came of it all ? Did we ever get a vote on the Crittenden propositions ? Never. Did we ever get a vote on the Peace Conference propositions ? Never. Did we ever get a vote on the bill introduced by the Senator from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Bigler) to submit these propositions to a vote of the people ? They were not strong enough to displace the Pacific Railroad Bill,

which stood here and defied them in the Senate for more than a month. They were not strong enough to set aside this plunder bill you call a tariff. They were not strong enough to beat a Pension Bill one morning. For three long months have I followed the Senator and others, begging for a vote on these questions; never can we get it—never; and now I am to be deluded no further; and I use that word delusion certainly in no unkind sense to my friend.

The Crittenden proposition has been indorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky. It has been indorsed by the Legislature of the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of electors of the United States than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart, to-day, that it would carry an overwhelming majority of the people of my State; aye, sir, and of nearly every other State in the Union. Before the Senators from the State of Mississippi left this chamber, I heard one of them, who now assumes, at least, to be President of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept it and to maintain the Union, if that proposition could receive the vote it ought to receive from the other side of the chamber. Therefore, of all your propositions, of all your amendments, knowing as I do, and knowing that the historian will write it down, at any time before the first of January, a two-thirds vote for the Crittenden Resolutions in this chamber would have saved every State in the Union but South Carolina. Georgia would be here by her representatives, and Louisiana also—those two great States, which, at

least, would have broken the whole column of Secession."

Mr. Douglas, at the same time, said in reply: "I can confirm the Senator's declaration, that Senator Davis himself, when on the Committee of Thirteen, was ready at all times to compromise on the Crittenden proposition. I will go further and say that Mr. Toombs was also ready to do so."

But if this testimony were not in existence at all, do we not all know that the great State of Virginia indorsed this proposition and submitted it to the other States as a basis of a final adjustment and permanent peace? It was this base on which that State called for the Peace Conference which assembled soon thereafter.

It was also indorsed by almost the unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky, and subsequently by those of Tennessee and North Carolina. But it is useless to add testimony. The Republican members of the Senate were against the Crittenden proposition, and the radicals of that body were against any and every adjustment. When the Peace Conference had assembled, and there was some hope of a satisfactory settlement, it is well known that Mr. Chandler, Mr. Harlan, and others, urged their respective Governors to send on impracticable fanatics as Commissioners, in order to defeat a compromise.

In what I have said I have not intended to extenuate or excuse the wickedness of the Secessionists. Bad and impolitic as was the policy of the Northern radicals, it furnished no sufficient reason for Secession, rebellion and war; but I believed most sincerely

then, as I do now, that the acceptance of Mr. Crittenden's proposition by one third of the Republicans in Congress, at the right time, would have broken down Secession in nearly all the States now claiming to be out of the Union; and it might have been accepted without any sacrifice of honor or principle. So far as the common territory of the United States was concerned, it proposed an equitable partition, giving the North about 900,000 square miles and the South about 300,000. No umpire that could have been selected would have given the North more. If, then, it was a material interest and value we were contending for, it gave us our full share; if it was the application of a political principle the Republicans were struggling for, it allowed the application of their doctrine to three fourths of an estate that belonged to all the States and all the people. It expressly excluded slavery from 900,000 square miles of this estate, and allowed it in the remaining 300,000.

The Republicans, it is true, had just elected a President, and were about to take possession of the Government; but still the popular vote in the several States showed that they were over a million of votes in the minority of the electors of the United States. Being a million in the minority, if they secured the application of their principles to three-fourths of all the territory, was that not enough? Could they not on that have boasted of a great triumph? For a time these arguments and considerations seemed to have weight with the more moderate and conservative of the Republican Senators. Indeed, at one time I had strong hopes of settlement. But the radi-

cals rallied in force, headed by Mr. Greeley, and the current was soon changed. We were then met with the argument that the people, in the election of Mr. Lincoln, had decided to exclude slavery from all the territory, and that the members of Congress dare not attempt to reverse that decision. We then determined to go a step further and endeavor to overcome this obstacle; and it was to this end, after consultation with Mr. Crittenden and others, that I myself introduced a bill into the Senate providing for taking the sense of the people of the several States on the Crittenden proposition, for the direction of members of Congress in voting for or against its submission for the ratification of the States, as an amendment to the Constitution.

This was an appeal to the source of all political power, and would have relieved the members of all serious responsibility. The vote of the representative would have been in accordance with the vote of his constituents, either for or against the proposition. The only objection made was that it was somewhat irregular and extraordinary. But the same men could not make that objection at present. Too many extraordinary things have since been done by their chosen agents. I believed with the Senator from Ohio, as I believe still, that the proposition would have carried a majority in nearly all the States of the Union, but it shared the fate of all other efforts for settlement. Would to God that our country was now in the condition it then was, and that the people could be allowed to settle the controversy for themselves under the light of eighteen months' experience

of war and carnage, and countless sacrifices of national strength and character.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

WM. BIGLER."

Who, in the face of such testimony, is not bound to cast the censure and the odium where it justly belongs, tracing it back for one hundred years, as Mitchell observed, the subject had been agitated, and the question propounded, "What should be done with the free blacks?" We know all the workings of that Abolition party. They would under the sanctity of morality and religion, rob High Heaven of her Star Glory, and of her Organic Law, and man of his inheritance! We are quiet Constitutional men: but others than such can expect no quarters from us, but to get quartered!

If we believe in the Bible, emancipationism is only another name for abolitionism, and is chosen by its followers, especially in the Slave States, from a *stroke of policy*, rather than *principle*; for the end effected in severing the relations of master and slave is one and the same thing; and hence there is no use in coloring it, in order to make the principle more *popular* and *digestable*. In support, and in positive affirmation of this position, we will quote the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, which says to the man and to the female: "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be *fruitful*, and *multiply*, and *replenish* the earth, and *subdue* it; and *have dominion* over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every *living thing that moveth upon the earth*." That there should be a *query* with reference to *knowing*

who 'the *man* and the *female*' are, is a matter of serious ridicule, and deserves no place in natural history or ethnology, among men of the least pretension to science! Common sense should tell us the history of man, and that of progressive existences of colors, as it does in the case of corn not growing from rye, nor chestnuts from walnuts, and so on; hence a white man, and an existence of color, are now separate in kind as the corn and rye are, and were always so, upon the natural law of production and the command of God, saying, 'let each produce his kind.' In the 28th verse, God commands the man and the female, 'have dominion,' etc., and in this there is no choice; consequently man cannot give up a part of his dominion without denying the command of God; and if he does yield his *true estate*, setting up a '*higher law*, a law within his own breast,' he denies his God and becomes an Atheist! Therefore, emancipationism, as well as abolitionism, is atheism, when put in practice. It strikes at the *root* in opposition to the command of God, in saying 'have *dominion*,' etc.; for it gives up *dominion*. This is a positive denial of God's command, when it is persisted in, wherefore as a principle used to combat the will and purpose of the organic law of creation, it should be met with open denunciation and abhorrence. We feel that this argument should be conclusive against emancipationism, setting it forth in its pristine colors.

From the cause and effect of nature, with there being no possibility of caviling by the Abolitionists and Emancipationists, with reference to the righteousness of slavery, we have brought forth the order

of creation and the Constitution of the United States, to bear as full and conclusive evidence to sustain our positions, notwithstanding; and feel to rest our pleadings on the order of God, and that Sacred Instrument formed by our forefathers, not fearing but a just, good, and magnanimous people will punish the Abolitionists and Emancipationists for their heresy, treason, sin, and agitation against the organic law of God, and that made by man! We know their treason; they plead that it is sympathy for the oppressed begot by their religious impressions. Where the slaves are free, how do they manifest it to them, by kindness or by distance? If we go among them, where there are free colored people, we soon gain an earnest of all their boasted *benevolence* and *humanity*! it is such as man cannot see! nor can the ear of man hear it! It has no manifestations, except for evil and cunning device!

“The man and the female” were made perfect beings, for the former exercised intuitive knowledge in naming the animals; and the female must have been equally endowed with knowledge, or she would not have been companionable to one possessing Divine-like attributes in knowledge thus foreshadowed. Hence, all matter of human kind must be progressive to its original type—man; and progressive existences of colors will progress as they come in contact with humanity; for the negroes of Africa are unlike those of the United States in point of phrenological developments, which effect is caused by contact with intelligence. Consequently, they are comparatively human existences, only as they progress

in approximating humanity, and are responsible accordingly. Therefore, in viewing the order of organic matter, the sphere of a white man, and that of existences of color, are now as different, and ever have been, as the organic classes in colors; for no one will have the courage to say that black and white are one colors, and hence had a common origin, any more or less than a white man and negro are of the same color; and consequently, they had a common origin. The different colors which we see, as obtained from natural objects, we apply to different uses; we do not apply black and white to the same use; for in this, we should have a mixture; that is, if we wished a house painted black, we should not use white paint, and thus *vice versa*. Hence God, in his creation, wished the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, and Caucasian, as much he wanted corn, wheat, barley, rye and oats, for certain *purposes*, which are manifested fully in this dissertation. This will bear thought and study.

If it should be admitted that the law of production be reversed in *one thing* or in *one instance*, in saying that a white man might have originated from an *existence* of color, or that this *existence* of color should have originated from the white man; we could, with the same propriety, argue that the whole order of nature might have been formerly reversed; and hence, trees were seen growing *roots* upwards, and animals in general walking with legs upwards. In this instance, there would be as much *common sense* and *propriety* as in the former; though this manifests its *absurdity unmasked* to the most *common*

understanding; whereas the former requires *thought* and *reason* to detect the *pious fraud* endeavored to be practiced by *Atheists*! If we should say that the common monkey originated from the gibbon, the gorilla, or the chimpanzee, and the latter from a native of Australia, theological-abolition physiologists would call us dementated; and why? because it is ordered that each thing, whether inanimate or animate, must produce its kind; and if this be the case in one thing, why not in all? for the same law of production governs in production; otherwise, we should have hogs from sheep, or *vice versa*, and ducks from geese, or *vice versa*, in the *progress* of production. Hence, if such a *notion* would indicate that we might be dementated, how much more so it is for men who *pass* themselves off for a *sterling* PRICE, to deduce, from their *rich* ORIENTAL FIELDS of *learning* and *vast researches*, the fact of a white man having originated from a negro, or *vice versa*, in the order of production, because they can understand each other by speech, any more or less than that rye sprang from wheat, or oats from barley, because they are grain, and can be eaten! Such might be told with the hope of obtaining credence from the children of Greenland, or from those of Oceanica; but it is useless to palm off such a disconnected process of production upon minds that reason from cause to effect, and from effect to cause! And men who do it, are either ignorant of what they affirm, or they are *wicked*, and *deserve* the *universal detestation* of *mankind*! The leaders in Abolitionism are not ignorant; but they are perverse and full of cunning device, and *let themselves out* to

gain *inglorious consequences!* Absolute emancipationism is not one whit better. There is no morality in it, as founded in nature and on the organic order of creation. The former is in direct opposition to the latter.

In view of creation, God must have established for the rule of His action a definite and fixed plan of formation of matter into bodies, with the power of *self-attraction* and *self-repulsion*. For, before the origin of all things, matter had assumed no specific form; but, after the formation of the earth, the mineral kingdom was the first act of God's creation, with reference to separate classes of matter to exist on the earth. God ordered gold to exist, and unite itself by its natural affinity for its own particles of matter, and it was so. We see the effect of this class in the mineral kingdom, which is distinct from the other minerals. Thus, all the minerals were formed under this kingdom, that is, into separate classes—the effects of the commands of God. The difference, in any of these classes of minerals, is denominated genus, species, or kind, which would be included under the head class. There is a difference in iron by its nature; in lead; in quicksilver; in gold; in silver; in copper; and, in fact, in all of the minerals, under their respective classes, by which one genus in a class is distinguished from the other. A primordial organic law governs all these minerals, for they may be all run together, yet by the art and science in chemistry, we can reduce each mineral to its original class.

This shows an original, distinct organization in the beginning; and in each, the *power* and *design* of God

are manifest. We do not pretend to say which mineral is the oldest. In the same manner, the Vegetable Kingdom was created. God commanded corn, barley, oats, grass-seed, wheat, rye, and, in fact, all the seeds of this kingdom to come into existence, and they came, and have grown and produced, each as it was commanded, according to its class, which includes the genus, the species or kind, under this division—the vegetable kingdom. To say that each of these seeds would not produce a class in this kingdom, would lead to confusion in the creation, for each class, as commanded, is to produce its kind. In proof of this position, grind these seeds all up together, and then, by chemical analysis, it is easy to discover the affinity which each particle of this matter bears to itself, thereby rendering it back to its original matter. Hence, upon this principle of reasoning, and there is no other natural mode of reasoning upon this subject, we must conclude that seed, when first produced from matter, was made to represent, in the vegetable kingdom, a separate organic existence, to be known as one class, producing each its kind. In this kingdom we find a seed called barley; it represents a class, for no other seed resembles it in any respect whatsoever, either in form or substance; but we have seen different representations of this seed, which we may call, for ease in the distribution of appropriate names, genus, species, or kind, either of which is applicable under this class. Hence, it is common to say, “we have different barley seed.” All other seeds are subject to the same consideration as this, barley.

Thus far, we have traced the formation of matter in the mineral and vegetable kingdom into distinct classes, producing each its kind, as having an affinity for itself alone, in contradistinction to what surrounds it! We have now to review the animal kingdom. In the creation of all matter into bodies, whether inanimate or animate, God exercised no partial considerations; *his* labors were the fruit of *design pre-ordained* in the beginning of all things! God created the animals of the waters and those of the air into classes, which *he* commanded to produce, each his kind, from the terms—‘moving creature, and fowl;’ see verse 20th, first chapter of Genesis.

This organic law of production, in all the lower classes of animals, is obeyed, for each class is desirous of that form made in resemblance to itself. For in the waters we see each class mate by itself in the form of shoals or armies, making no difference with reference to their size. Thus the whales go by themselves, live with each other, and produce their kind; the shad do the same; the herring do the same; the cod do the same; and the turtle the same; and in fact, all which inhabit the waters do the same. The same law pervades those animals which live in the air, or that fly on wing. It divides them into classes, causing each class to produce its kind; for it is specific, and to the point. It punishes illicit intermixtures with the pain of deterioration and premature decay. We have never seen the duck nor the goose, nor the hen, nor the turkey, nor any of the wild classes that fly in the air, *manifest a desire* for each other. For they obey the organic law of their crea-

tion, in producing each its kind, in the animal kingdom. Rising in this kingdom to the animals created according to the terms embraced in the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis,—as in the case of the ‘living creature, cattle, creeping thing, and beast,’ we can see no reason why each of the animals created from the earth, representing total distinctions in formations and colors, should not be divided into classes as those of a scale lower, inhabiting the air or the waters, or the seeds of the vegetable kingdom, or the minerals of the mineral kingdom, wherein we see distinct classes, as heretofore mentioned. Hence, in the organization of matter into bodies and forms resembling the Mongolian, the Indian, the Malay, and the African, as well as those resembling every grade to the very lowest, that walk or creep on the earth, we see each of these manifest itself by its class, through which it reproduces itself. These classes, then, in the animal kingdom, are separate with reference to their creation, for each of them acts independently, by itself, in its reproduction! Hence, we see the Mongolian produce his own species, representing his organic form in the creation, and proving that his class is distinct and efficient for all the purposes of its creation. It acts now independently in its reproduction, assimilating its kind to its mother and father’s root or class. Though we see, under this class, different shapes, yet they all represent the same tribe-like physiological features and developments; hence arises the distinction of this class of bipeds from the Indian, Malay, and African, and also, the Caucasian. The same organic law governs the Indian, the Malay,

and the African, in its respective class, of reproduction, for each of these classes is separate and distinct; though there are different shades in forms in each of these classes of the animal kingdom, yet we behold a kindred resemblance in each class to itself. And thus, all the Indian tribes resemble each other. The Malay tribes resemble each other; and also the African tribes resemble each other. These distinct classes we discover in the whole animal kingdom between the classes just mentioned and the meanest animal that walks or crawls on the earth. In this light behold the *cattle*, the horse, the lion, the deer, the bear, the elephant, the antelope, the fox, the dog, the wolf, the sloth, and the ant, with thousands of other animals, too numerous to be mentioned, represent each his class, as created from matter once chaotic, with the power of producing each his kind, independently; though each in its reproduction, bears a resemblance to its original class in obedience to the command of God in *his* creation. The chain of proof here presented, demonstrates the manner of creation, step by step, and class by class, from the beginning, in the mineral kingdom, through the vegetable and animal kingdom, embracing the last class—the Caucasian. This class is governed by the same organic law, as that which governs all others in any of the kingdoms above mentioned. Under this class we see a vast difference in the phrenological and physiological features; yet the products of such, without admixture, represent the genus, species, or kind, in the class as it was originally formed. For no white or Caucasian man and woman can produce any other

color than their own, which makes this a primordial color as to them, in the same manner as olive-color is with reference to the Mongolian ;—copper-color is with reference to the Indian ; brown-color is with reference to the Malay ; and black-color is with reference to the African. These classes being different, as governed by organic law, of which we are convinced, in beholding their physiological features in contrast, with the latent ability in each class, to produce its own kind ;—we can have no question as to the position to assign each class in the creation ; nor can we doubt the period of time with reference to what class precedes and follows each other, in the progress of creation, up to the Caucasian ! A class is the organized elements* in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdom, that embrace such matter as has the ability to reproduce, resembling itself, either by attraction or sexual intercourse. Hence, from this position, we derive just notions as to the process of creation, and when influenced by these and organic law, we learn not to confound one class with another, especially in view of the matter which composes them, being different, as we see it in form and color.

In review of the first chapter of Genesis, as it bears on the creation of all things in the manner we have presented it for consideration, we must conclude that there is only one organic law pervading the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdom. Hence, the weight and importance of verse 28th of the first chapter of Genesis, with reference to the commands which God enjoins on man, the white man elect, to perform, admit of no equivocation or refutation. In this, God

* Elements, in this case, signify male and female, as it is herein used

closed his commands as to what *he* had been doing, by ordering "the man and the female" what to do, with reference to all future time! Wherefore, the commands, in this verse, were made with the creation of all else, crowning the great land marks of God's plastic will. In the organic forms of propagation, we see them systemized into classes for the purpose of producing, each his kind, in each of the kingdoms above-mentioned; thereby showing an affinity and cohesion for each other, in each class of creation. Any variation of this law by any of the classes, is punished with premature decay and deterioration. Hence, this law is fixed, step by step, and class by class, in the scale of creation, just as much as the law of gravitation was fixed. Had this not been fixed, the fruits of the earth, which we see growing on trees, would have been as likely to have gone up into the air when ripe, as to have fallen to the earth. Hence we see the law which gravitates a body to the earth; and this is manifested on every body in proportion to the quantity of matter such body contains; from this circumstance, we see the influence which the earth has over an apple, in drawing it to herself. Were the apple as large as the earth, possessing as much matter, each body would maintain the position, that it was formed to occupy in the process of creation. If the law of gravitation was not fixed in each particle of matter in proportion to what it possesses, a man on a house-top, when jumping from it, would be as likely to go up as down! But he goes down, and why? Because there is no body near him larger than the earth, to overcome the in-

fluence, which the earth exercises over him;—hence, he is drawn to the earth, irresistibly, when he leaps from the house-top. In this, we see the organic law governing matter; and who can doubt it? if so, let him try one or two experiments!

Still further, are we permitted to trace this law governing bodies, such as the primary planets, and also, the sun, moon, and stars. That these exist we can not question, for we do not question the existence of the earth. That each of these bodies revolves on its own axis, we have no evidence to the contrary,—but from the alternate rotation of day and night to us, effected by the revolution of the earth on its own axis without a question, we must conclude that each body performs the same function, with reference to itself and sun, as the earth performs with reference to herself? Hence, we see that each of these bodies were created to fill a certain space in the Universe and to revolve each within a certain orbit. This position is maintained by another fixed law in bodies revolving, which is centripital and centrifugal. That law or force which impels a body or matter to a common center, is centripital, and that which causes it to fly off from a common center, is centrifugal. Hence, we see that a body, in order to revolve in its orbit, must have these two laws or powers equal; otherwise, matter would all accumulate in one common mountain, and there would be scarcely any earth to cultivate, or it would fly off, without leaving any to cultivate. Each of the bodies before mentioned, is also governed by the law of gravitation, for each attracts each other in proportion

to the quantity of matter that each contains, and the respective distance that one is separated from the other.

Therefore, the organic law governing the centripetal, and centrifugal forces in bodies is balanced, or such bodies would collapse or fall apart. This can be applied to any body or form of bodies, for it is natural law. It can be applied to Governments; for when a Government is central, or monarchial, or federal, it proves that the centripetal force in the government has overcome the centrifugal force, and that these are not balanced for general good. In Republics, the Centripetal force is represented in the General Government, and the Centrifugal force in the States, or provinces, or departments. For self-preservation, prosperity, and happiness, care and a watchful forecast should be ever exercised, that each of these *bodies* act within the sphere or orbit for which it was made by the order of creation, or by conventional compacts.

The influences of the law of gravitation, and that of centripetal attraction, and centrifugal repulsion, received their origins during the process of creation, within the six consecutive days, in the same manner as the different classes of minerals, vegetables, and animals, received their origins, at the same time;—evidences of which manifest themselves to our senses wherever we exercise the philosophy of reason, or on whatever object, we exercise mineral, vegetable, or animal, analysis. Hence, in all those bodies mentioned, and classes brought under our review, we see an organic law manifest itself, which defines, unmistakably, the process of creation, and the governing

principle for each in its peculiar sphere. In each of these classes of the three kingdoms, we see bodies formed as of original matter, with a clear distinctness, and if we unite any of these primordial classes, we produce a hybrid, a mongrel, which comes to our senses every day. This organic law, from the consideration which it bears on all matter, defines the order of creation, and manifests the ruling race or class to govern the earth. This is clear, for we see *design* in the application of this *law* to every thing which exists. Can we say that there is no law of gravitation, or of centripetal and centrifugal force? any more or any less, than we can say that there is no classification in each of the kingdoms? This process of reasoning appeals to our common sense; and if we deny the latter as we see it evidenced in creation, we must deny the power and effect of the former, as we see it evidenced, with respect to bodies. *In this view*, when we see a body fall downward, we should say that it goes upward; and when we see it drawn to the center, we should indulge ourselves in saying that it is going from the center. In this, the *height of reason* would be most consummately displayed, according to the doctrines of Abolitionists and Emancipationists, who are trying, as we have fully proved, to reverse the order of creation. It is a misfortune that it could not be reversed as to their own existences;—they would look well standing on their heads, and performing the other functions of life accordingly.

From the foregoing, we have seen the effect of natural law, which governs bodies composing the Uni-

verse ; and we have proved that, as to these, there is no variation of them in their orbits, either physically or typically speaking ; for every part of matter works in consonance with the whole. Therefore, organic law, based on natural principles, is ever right, is ever just, is ever reasonable, and is ever to the point. Hence, upon this law, man should base his government, which is natural, as the Constitution of our fathers was based ; for in it we see the influence of the centripetal, and centrifugal powers, in the same manner as we do, in the heavenly bodies, balance each other, which forbids too *great a contraction, or expansion!* When we conflict with the principles of these laws, we bring on ourselves all the evils which destroy our peace and happiness. We incur famine, disease, wars, both civil and foreign, and consequently premature decay and death ! These are natural appeals to mankind to stay the assassin's hand, and the warrior's stern order to form in battle ! There is no humanity in war ; it eclipses nature, in her performance to man, of her last office ! The warrior, created in the Image and after the Likeness of his Creator, it turns to brute, makes him act like a brute, think like a brute in the way of defense and offense, blunts his natural refinement, sours his sentiments, makes him distrustful of man, fills him with pompous conceit, which makes him strut like a peacock, with brass tinsels hanging in profusion, and finally addles and dethrones the brain, where reason and common sense should be most creative and productive of good and happy results ! Such is the misfortune of man in arms ! Such is his prostration to his own wicked-

ness, and such is his will to pervert the laws of nature, and make a god of himself, that God might feel to demur recognition of such, *his* own creation in man! When will man learn to settle disputes by the arbitrament of reason and common sense? Acting upon the organic law of God, there is no more reason that man should war with man, than that one of the planets should disobey the organic law, and consequently wage war with his fellow-planet. In this respect, there would be as much common sense in the one case as in the other! Good results from *reason*, not from war!

Thus far we have proved from the beginning, that every particle of matter, which received an inanimate, or an animate existence, is based on the organic law of God, showing design in all of his great workmanship. Color is a property in a body, which by light is distinguishable from that in another body; hence colors are natural or artificial. The former are seen in the book of nature as founded on organic law, while the latter are in the works of man, as founded on art. Could *one* natural primordial *color* have originated from another, when each natural color received its organization from matter, during the period of six days,—the space of time occupied in the creation? Color, then, as now, was attached to the substance or thing susceptible of being handled or seen, hence one natural color then, no more than now, could not have originated from another, but each was then as now, independent of each other, and this must have been the case of all things, whether inanimate or animate. Wherefore we

obtain the undeniable proof with reference to the colors of the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, and Caucasian, having been originally as they now are in the scale of creation, or we should detect changeableness in the organic coloring *property* in matter. For who will pretend to say that *grass*, or *leaves*, or blossoms of inanimate matter, or animate, below *bi-peds*, *had* or have *changed* their *coloring* since the creation? In this respect, the organic law is fixed, and has been so far back as the memory of man extends, to the very remotest age of time; and hence if fixed in one thing, whether inanimate or animate, it must be in all, for the organic law is regular, and without the possibility of deviation. From this evidence in organic law governing the properties in bodies, we must conclude that God had a special *design* in the creation of *existences* of *colors* and *man*, as they now present themselves to our understandings, as much as he had in creating the different classes of forest trees, or other matter, whether inanimate or animate, We see their difference, and we have no evidence that such came by *chance*; reason and common sense teach us *such*, as being founded on natural law. Between the existences of colors and man we see no equality in the organization of the brains; in the former they are dull, imperceptive, and want forecast; in the latter they are mercurial, perceptive, and soar to the Heaven of Heavens for light and knowledge! If this inferior and subordinate condition had not been natural to them as based on organic law, God could have formed the matter in their composition like ours, hence we should have fully known

that all matter created into bipeds were created free and equal, from color. As it is, equality is not granted! But according to verse 28th of the first chapter of Genesis, 'the man and the female' are ordered,—Have dominion over all created matter, that is, than yourselves; for the verse reads thus:—with which we are all familiar. The order of creation was begun with the inanimates, and rose naturally step by step, and class by class, by regular process, manifesting *design* in the rising scale to 'the man and the female,' the last touch of *his* plastic will! In the creation God did not manifest his inconsistency by creating first an inanimate, then an animate, and thus the one, and then the other; but man last with his consort through *design*, to entail *his* great estate on them, full of knowledge and ability to turn the vast resources to the advantage of *his* creation. And thus man penetrates from the depth of the ocean, to the farthest planet or star, and from pole to pole, and draws his deductions, through enlightened reason and common sense, from facts as based on organic law; otherwise, how could he know the law of gravitation in bodies, or the influence of the centripetal or centrifugal force in the same, or when an eclipse would occur to the sun or moon, or the shooting of a comet, within a second of time? Such knowledge cuts short abolitionism!

Abolitionism is the offspring of misconception in man, denying the organic law governing the universe; hence, the followers become Atheists, endeavoring to reverse his *will* and *design*, as laid down in the creation, and thereby *deify* themselves with the

solemn installation of Divinity. Humanity is not in their creed: they are bereft of that sacred attribute; for their acts and teachings are not founded on organic law as manifested in the creation, but on the inversion of it; hence they plead humanity for deception, in order to gain power and the control of the Government, making those who disagree with them, or oppose them, *creatures* of their nefarious will and doings! This complexion of them demonstrates itself in all their doings, for they are full of doings, and consequently, of these demonstrations, the most impious of all man's doings on earth! "Oh, for a lodge in some vast wilderness, some boundless contiguity of shade, where rumor and oppression may reach me no more," face to face, with such infidelity to God, in Satan's garb of original sin, in heaven!

Freesoilism, Mormonism, Millerism, Witchcraftism, High-lawism and Spiritualism, go hand in hand with the modern Republicans, Abolitionists and Emancipationists, and make jolly their heterogeneous compound against the order of creation, and the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Of what dust of the earth these compounds are most generally composed, it is difficult for a physiologist or ethnologist to determine, for their *balance wheel* is lacking, and they manifest no sympathy for the rest of mankind! We can clearly see that they are making their last great struggle for mastery; but they will collapse and diverge off, to mix with matter more perfect. Their constitutional mental formations have not the centripetal and centrifugal forces, as applied to bodies well balanced; first, their centripetal force draws them,

as now, to a common center; they become *addled*, and *fuddled*, *crazed* and *self-created*, and so massed that the centrifugal force is compelled to act naturally; as in the case of an active volcano, when matter is being thrown up, it acts upon the centripetal force in bodies, till this is overcome by the height and sharpness of accumulated matter, then the centrifugal force comes in play and propels matter from the common center, through *necessity*. This will be the end of the volcano upon which these isms are based; they will molder to *dust*, yet years will roll on before such dust, by any chemical process, can be made fitly adapted to enter *again, even* into the *formation* of the lowest class of animals! Is this not a fact, O ye isms! Turn, turn from the errors of your ways ere you be doomed to molder to dust! and this dust, by the way of purification, should have to go through the process of the mineral, vegetable and the lower classes of the animal kingdom, before it could be naturally prepared to re-enter man's estate! Oh, what a thought in the process of eternity, to view some men so insignificant, so perverse to God's organic law!

Abolitionism is a foreign element in our country, and begets immorality and depravity, in the same manner as Millerism, Mormonism, Socialism, and the like kindred isms, when it is looked boldly and physiologically in the face, and has no more claim to the Government of the United States in preventing it from its rotary motion in its accustomed orbit for the good of all concerned, than the principle of Abolitionism should have in the constitution of the earth,

counteracting the equilibrium between the centripetal and centrifugal forces in the terrestrial system. In the exertion of the former for mastery, there was as much absurdity, and as much inconsistency, as there would be in the latter; and the consequences as to general destruction would, and will be, the same.

Thus must the door be closed on abolition doctrine in every sense where it conflicts with organic law, and this being done;—its antagonist, secessionism, will fall; for there could be nothing to produce combativeness. Abolitionism and Secessionism, are principles espoused by men naturally in opposition to each other living under the same government; the former wishes to abolish an organic, Constitutional act or law, whereas the latter secedes from that law, when the principles of it are not carried out in good faith and national courtesy, or when partizan spirit threatens to overturn any of the clauses of government under the Organic Law. At the present day we see these principles operate on a large scale. The first negro that passed from a slave State, through the free States to Canada, was the first instance of breaking the Constitution and the comity existing between the slave and free States; for he was known as property according to the Constitution; consequently any citizen in a free State seeing such, should have had arrested and retained, advertising the same, which would accord with the spirit of the Compact; such would have been the act of good neighborship, which the Constitution was created to secure. A neglect to perform this act shows a manifest intent to omit the sacred spirit of the compact; and in fact

such being the case, it begets a suspicion that there is a want of honesty and faithfulness, in those making these incidental departures from the Constitution, as to performing fully their part of the trust reposed in the compact for mutual advantages. Fix it as you will, Oh, Reader! Secessionism is the antipodes in politics, to abolitionism; imprison the latter, arrest its progress in creating enemies as to the want of faithfulness in coming up to the letter and spirit of the compact, and you will literally destroy the ground-work upon which the former has reared its head. Sound, conscientious, and Constitutional men know this; we cannot dodge this knowledge; it is like a ray of light from Heaven; and why not in the name of humanity, common sense and a due regard for others, practice what we know to be right!

In order to rectify man in his constitutional government, philosophical minds look for causes before they do for effects, in tracing back, as near as possible, to the organization of matter, thence keeping the organic law in view, which regulates all *matter*, we see step by step, effects of such causes, in holding before our view, our colonial and constitutional history. We can by this means, trace the rise of isms and their effects, against organic law in the whole economy of nature, and of our constitutional history. And who is so dull of comprehension, as not to see the philosophy of this incontrovertible fact? and who should be permitted to rule, who is not willing to be governed by conventional law, as founded on natural Organic Law? The plea now advocated is, first put down secessionism, and then

we will put down abolitionism. This should be reversed, put down abolitionism, which has been producing effects for seventy-five or eighty years, in the United States, since the Confederation of the Colonies, as stated in the first part of our Work, and which is the primary and moving cause of uneasiness in the Slave States; and secessionism will not be worth a cent on a dollar in such an event! That to pursue the former, is a thin and hellish device of *abolition union* men, for when slavery is swept from the United States, against the Constitution, which it protects as much as the State Constitutions do the rites of marriage, record of deeds, and descent of property, what interest will there be in negroes worth contending for, after the act of emancipation is carried out? In the name of common sense, what will then arise?

The object of such is to destroy the industrial pursuits of the South by the hellish scheme of emancipation; and then they will cry out, that there is nothing worth contending for! Constitutional liberty is against abolitionism first, and secessionism secondly. Common sense teaches this.

The abolishment of the Southern slaves from the bonds of absolute servitude to their masters, would cast a shade of darkness over our future progress, till means again are taken to replace them in servitude, resulting from their inferior and subordinate condition, to man, in the order of creation, and of the most manifest economy, concerning well directed and available labors, in that region bordering on tropical America, and within the vastly fertile and un-

cultivated bounds of the Tropics. For the reduction of wages, the dissoluteness of manners, the want of well defined will and purpose, the general licentiousness, incident to such an event, both among the whites and blacks, and the freedom of those, not knowing the blessings of freemen, would all tell as insuperable checks to population, which, in no distant day, would terminate in a war of races for mastery. Such direful events and consequences will fill the record of our future pages of history, if we persist in contesting the will and order of God in his creation. Such consequences are already pointed to our understandings, from the emancipated ones that have been forced on the Western States, by reducing the price of wages of the poor whites; consequently it will check white population, as it checks their means of support; it will produce immorality among the whites, as it will check the means of marrying and supporting a family. Therefore, the emancipation of Southern slaves, and turning them loose in the North or South, East or West, will demoralize and check the white population, by the necessity of the blacks having to labor for what they can get, with the ample capacity of stealing the balance, and of the poor whites having to come in competition with them in the low price of labor, without having so naturally the propensity to take what does not belong to them. These are grave considerations for Statesmen, and have we no men of pluck and daring enough to combat such direful and avenging calamities, which we see hovering over us, as the consequences of fanaticism and a blind mockery in reverence to the order

of creation? Pause! Awake from your long nights of slumber, ye lights of this Republic, and arrest the assassins' hands from ruthlessly laying waste the bulwark of our liberties. Ye Gods, arise and stay those thoughtless hands that know not what they do, to future generations! It is not reason that rules the hour in the East, in the West, in the South, or in the North; it is blindness, and madness, and fell despair; it is an avenging will of partyism; it is a departure from the order of nature; and the sooner this is discovered and remedied, the sooner will the civilized nations, as well as barbarous tribes, feel the congenial influence of the Constitution of the United States as it is, and the Union as it was! Such is the earnest desire of Constitutional patriotism, not sectionalism!

In conclusion, with reference to the Abolition, and Emancipation Creed for issuing Proclamations, upon which they found their laws to govern men, as our ancestors framed a Constitution to serve, for all the purposes of government, in peace or in war, whether foreign or civil, we may cite the people of these once happy States to the Blue Laws of Connecticut, showing them that the same fanatics are now endeavoring to bear rule and enslave a free people, as ruled with an iron rod in the early settlement of that State. The following is the purport of those laws:

“Whosoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of his neighbor shall sit in the stocks and be whipped fifteen stripes.

To pick an ear of corn in a neighbor's garden shall be deemed theft.

Man stealers shall suffer death.

Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold, or bone lace above two shillings by the yard, shall be presented to the grand jurors and the selectmen shall tax the offenders at £300 to the estate.

A debtor in prison, swearing he has no estate, shall be let out and sold to make satisfaction.

A drunkard shall have a master appointed by the selectmen, who are to debar him the liberty of buying or selling.

Whoever sets a fire in the woods and burns a house, shall suffer death; and all persons suspected of this crime shall be imprisoned without the benefit of bail.

Whoever brings dice or cards into the dominion shall pay a fine of £5.

No priest shall abide in the dominion; he shall be banished, and suffer death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant.

The selectmen, on finding children ignorant, may take them away from their parents, and put them in better hands, at the expense of their parents.

No man to cross a river but with an authorized ferryman.

No man shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting.

No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath day.

No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or feasting day.

When parents refuse their children convenient marriages, the magistrates shall determine the point.

No minister shall keep a school.

A man that strikes his wife shall be punished as the court directs.

A wife shall be deemed good evidence against her husband.

Married persons must live together or be imprisoned.

Every male shall have his hair cut according to cap.

No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or saint days, make pies, play cards, or play upon instruments of music except the drum, trumpet or jewsharp.

No gospel minister shall join people in marriage; the magistrates only shall join in marriage, as they only may do it with much less scandal to Christ's church.

That no food or lodging should be given to a Quaker, Adamite, or other Heretic."

What a commentary the present crisis is on the progress of a free people for two hundred years or more! Most worthy sons, transcendent in fame, in glory, in freedom, in morality, and in piety; and vying with your noble Ancestors for tyranny and oppression! Will such stock of fanaticism ever run out, or will it, the more it is *cut into pieces*, like *some animal*, embody life in each piece, to combat the world with its endless *impracticable isms*. Much has been said both within and without, as to free speech or

late, discussing matters physical, social, and political, from the creation down to the present.

Free thought, consequently free speech, is a part and parcel of the white man's creation ; it walks with him, talks with him, reasons, propounds, accepts and executes with him ; it sleeps with him ; it eats with him ; it is the last token of departing night, and the first of returning day ; it loves and chides him ; it is illimitable and boundless as the ocean ; it ransacks creation from pole to pole, and from the nether deep to the furthest luminary in yonder heaven ! What wall can hold it ? it leaps, it bounds, and off it flies unchained, though tyrant's will would chain it, to space incomprehensible ; it obeys not the prison wall ; it passes through it, and contemplates what petty tyrants would rob man of ; it gives rise to genius—the dread of tyranny ; it analyzes the tyrant and tells him his constituency ; it is sovereign of space, and combats whatever opposes it in its triumphant march ; it holds eternal matter, what was, is, or will be, in solution, and discovers, by analogy and the present production, forms entire or partly so, that now, are, and will be, from organic law, first risen ; it knows no change in original matter, except by rotation, entering bodies, then re-entering the earth, rising and falling with constant succession throughout time ; it scouts a change in organic law as to man and other animals, no less than to the sun, moon, planets, stars, law of gravitation, and that governing the centripetal and centrifugal forces in bodies ; it contemplates constitutional man as constitutional earth ; it sees and feels the one, and knows the other,

by the light of reason ; it knows man's true government founded on organic law, and when he departs from it, it knows and feels its lack of balance, yet it drives on, and often to destruction it goes, with full sails set ; it dashes in the whirling tempest, flounders, comes up, and floats off like fragments of some old ship ; it is polite and winning ; it courts and flatters ; it wins and deceives ; it loves choice things, and to sit in choice places ; hence, O ye tyrants of earth ! fetter, prostrate, and annihilate free thought, if you dare attack it ; let your vigils be quick and penetrating, and still it eludes your puny touch like so much wind that passes by unseen ! It is the same now, and ever will be the same ; it is a vestage of creation ; it calls forth man after man, with all his secondary elements superadded ; animals come and go through its influence, and all else rise and depart, as if on the high journey of life : it causes governments, of what name soever, to rise and fall, like the surging of the boundless waves ! Bliss and wickedness it surveys, and causes that move the whole grand architecture of heaven, earth, and whatever else that journey round the sun ; free thought aright, obeying the high order of the creation, pleads for peace, either in heaven among the host, or on the earth, with inanimate or animate objects ; it sees the brute in brute, and brute in man falling to brute, in warring and cutting down man ; it trembles, and is aghast at such a spectacle in man departing from organic law and his high creation ! why thus ? have day and night run their course, that man to his end must come, transfixed with spears and darts, and all the habili-

ments of the ingenuity of man, created for wiser and holier purposes! God forbid! Let the organic law of heaven and earth prevail, as when first formed from matter, and man seeing this, yield submission; and peace will dawn with first light that comes, as in days of yore, when "God spake, and there was light!" and peace!

In the animal kingdom we have used the term, "existences of colors," &c., to designate through their cognomens, the African, Malay, Indian, Mongolian, and Caucasian, in the same manner as we apply the term, metals (of colors, &c.,) to designate through their cognomens, gold, silver, iron, copper, and quicksilver, in the mineral kingdom; or in the same manner as we apply the term vegetables (of colors, &c.,) to designate through their cognomens, corn, rye, barley, wheat, and oats, in the vegetable kingdom. In each of these three kingdoms the cognomens are distinct, and do not, in being applied to bodies, depend on one another for life or existence, or reproduction; and therefore their origins from inorganic matter arose separately under no other general terms than the terms animal, mineral, and vegetable, with the order of creation standing thus: the mineral first, vegetable second, and the animal third or last. The above construction is used only to show the application of terms. We cannot take the specific term *homo* (man) in the Latin language, and apply it to but one of the existences of colors, for if we should classify them all in the term *homo*, as there cannot be two or more distinct organizations in one class of anything, and

as a class has all the genital organs to reproduce itself, we should make the five existences of colors one class, descending from a common parentage in the same manner as the five metals, or the five vegetables above mentioned, would descend in each of the three kingdoms from a common stock. We may exercise our choice as to applying the term *homo*, whether to the Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, Indian, or African, *physiologically speaking*, but we cannot apply it—a specific term, to generalities; those five names are generalities taken together, while one of them apart from the others is specific, and will admit of the specific term *homo*. The term *homo* in the Latin, and man in the English language, we trace from the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis throughout the Bible, and down to the present time, with as much ease and accuracy as we do any other portion of the creation recorded in the Holy Writ. The Caucasian race traces itself back in the same manner as we can trace back to that period when all was chaos, the origins of gold, silver, corn, barley, the elephant and the horse. These are specific names for specific classes in the three specific kingdoms. In “Wheat’s Philosophy of Slavery,” the term existences of colors has been used to designate the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, and African from the Caucasian, but it applies to Caucasian also. The term existence of color with the cognomen Mongolian, shows the organic color, form, desires, and habits, as it is understood to be applied to a race of beings living in Eastern Asia. Thus the other terms can be applied to other races where they have spread out from the common centers of their primary settlements.

In the best written works upon the natural sciences, we find many very arbitrary terms recorded by men of extraordinary research; but we do not know as yet that they may have exercised more common *sense* in their *astute selections of terms* than it has been the lot of less fortunate men like ourselves. We make no pretensions to have surveyed the vast abode of the Pierian Springs; we have only what nature has endowed us with, making our own means to investigate the great organic laws which govern the solar system, and which should govern man, did he desire a happier and a more perfect state. We are never idle except six hours in sleep each day; all else is spent in thought, with a few hours to recreation among those whose thoughts are like the tinsel beams that radiate from heaven.

The great fallacy in which the youth, not only of the United States but of Europe, have been taught, is to believe in practicabilities with reference to the creation of some things from matter inorganic when all was chaos, as in the mineral kingdom, gold was created gold, silver silver; and in the vegetable kingdom, barley was created barley, coffee coffee, sugar cane sugar cane; and in the animal kingdom, an ant was created an ant, the bat a bat, a horse horse, &c., while they have been seditiously taught to believe in the *impracticabilities*, in view of common sense, of the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, and African, descending from the Caucasian, the term *homo*, man. In the reception of such tutition from older persons of experience, the youth of perception must drink such learning with perfect hesitation; for in all the whole creation below those races, they could recog-

nize complete consistency in God as to having created each inanimate and animate, with organs perfect to reproduce a class resembling itself. The youth see the negress and negro produce off-springs resembling themselves, the Indians the same, the Mongolians the same, and the Malays the same, the Caucasians the same, still they are taught that formerly there was a common parentage from the first man and woman created. As well they might be taught a common parentage on earth with reference to all else, as with reference to these. This is false and corrupt teaching, and it is now high time that such teaching should be denounced as emanations from brains lacking common sense. They are emanations from fanatics only, and those who fold their hands, saying: "*we know all; we cannot be taught anything new on that subject.*" Such men, if they do not base their conceptions and judgments on organic laws in production, fail to comprehend the great order that has classified matter; they live as being duped, and they will die leaving no trace of light having been shed upon their benighted understandings. We pity such idiots. Though wise in the procurement of a sustenance, they materially lack the balance of good understandings. No good can result from such teaching. Our present civil war has resulted wholly from it. From time immemorial we have been taught that all the five races sprang from our first parents, Adam and Eve, and consequently when the Caucasian enslaved the Africans or negroes, they enslaved their fellow men. When this perversion in the teaching with reference to organic law is fully comprehended, and when all consent to believe that the inani-

mates and animates throughout the great workmanship of the Creator, produce images and likenesses in classes resembling themselves, the curse of holding in bondage the African race will disappear as mist before the rays of the orient sun. It cannot stand light. In the terms "fellow creatures, and flesh of our flesh, and blood of our blood," with reference to the Africans, or any of the other colored races, the wicked and perverted of heart have played the game of chance, fanaticism, and prejudice long enough. We must now come down to facts, and cast our visions back to matter in a state of chaos, and see the designs of God in the classification of matter in one thing of his creation as much as in another; otherwise there would be inconsistencies.

We feel often astonished in coming in contact with ladies and gentlemen whose common sense views and understandings are correct in business matters, or the avocations of life, but who have not the most distant comprehension of distinct organic matter. If we should ask any of them the *parentage* of a bean of any kind, a kernel of corn, wheat or barley, &c., they would respond correctly, that such emanated from one, or as many organic ones, at the period of creation. From this view we must argue and conclude that, in the inanimate and animate creation, there were common centers with reference to specific classes, depending on climates and specific gravity of the earth or matter at that period. For instance, we see gold located in certain localities, and so with all the metals and minerals. Their creation was without doubt where we now find them. On the same principle of reasoning would it be unnatural to conclude

that the vegetable kingdom was located, when formed out of matter, in the great centers where we see it in the tropics, in the temperate and frigid zones? each class within this kingdom being adapted, from its peculiar creation, to the spots on earth where it now grows and produces fruit after its own kind again. The apple tree, &c., could not have been created for the tropics, nor the orange, &c., for the frigid zone. In this respect, we see a design and adaptation in the creation. With reference to the same principle of reasoning and deduction, we must conclude that, in view of the animate creation, each class had a specific creation and adaptation with reference to climate. Some animals cannot live in the tropics, and if they could, they would be of no service to man; while others from the tropics can not live in the temperate, nor in the frigid zone. The Caucasian can live anywhere, in any climate; he can labor in the temperate or frigid zones. He can attain his greatest perfection within the tropics on altitudes from 3,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea, and inland fifty miles from the coast, where the climate is uniform, not varying more than ten degrees in the course of the year. He can perform mental labor in directing the labors of those below him, like the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, and African, in the low lands of the tropics and the temperate zones, but in these zones from the miasma, he cannot endure long if he labors in the sun.

As proof that the order of creation is as we have stated and elucidated it to be in the foregoing part of this work, we quote the 4th and 5th chapters of Genesis to sustain ourselves in our affirmations; moreover, especially with reference to the existences of colors, to-wit:

the African, Malay, Indian, and Mongolian, preceding "man," the Caucasian, in the period of time as to their creation.

In view of the order of creation having been completed in six consecutive days, as related by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis, we have proved its successive steps through the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, together with *existences of colors*, designated the African, Malay, Indian, and Mongolian, with the Caucasian last, as occupying their respective positions in the animal kingdom. In evidence of this position, we will take the literal significancy of the 4th chapter of Genesis, verses 1, 2, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 25. In our philosophy of reason, we have not pretended to say that Adam was not the first man; but we affirm, from natural reason, that he *was*, and also in view of this chapter; but as we have proved by analogy, comparison and the natural sciences, we deny the *existences of colors* to possess those physical and mental organizations which man, the Caucasian, possesses. Therefore we do not view them as *men*, but as *existences of colors* subordinate to man. In the first verse, "Adam knew Eve, and she conceived and bare Cain." This was Eve and Adam's first child, and we have no reason to suppose but that he was a male. In the second verse it is said: "And she again bare his brother Abel." This was their second son; there is no account of Adam and Eve having any daughters as yet, and what is not narrated, we have no right to infer. In the eighth verse we have an account of Cain's slaying his brother Abel, and up to

this period there is no account of either of them having taken a wife and having children through the instrumentality of females ; we do not believe them to have been hermaphrodites. In the 11th verse the Lord said : "And now art thou (alluding to Cain) cursed from the earth." In the 12th verse the Lord told Cain that "a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth." In the 14th verse Cain manifests fear of coming in contact with other beings than his father and mother ; for he says, "And I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth ; and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me." In the 15th verse the Lord pronounced judgment upon those who should slay Cain, and at its close it is said, "And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should slay him." In this last clause there is a clear indication that those *existences of colors*, or *some of them*, lived near Eden, for the word "finding" expresses *present* time, not *future*. In the 16th verse we see that Cain accepts of his *banishment* from Eden, for it is said, "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the *land* of Nod, on the east of Eden," which was *toward* the Mongolian and Malay land, as their present inheritance unmistakably indicates. In the 17th verse it is said, "And Cain knew his *wife*, and she conceived and bear Enoch ; and he builded a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch," It was therefore now evident from the history of Adam and Eve so far, that they had had no daughters ; and further, that no one was cursed with Cain, nor did he, take with him a wife ; but it is evident to the unprejudiced minds that the *land* of

Nod was a peopled country when Cain entered it, for he soon took a wife, had a son by her, and founded the first city we have any record of in sacred or profane history. This fully supports us in our previous deductions as to *existences of colors* emanating from the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, under the head "living creature." In the 25th verse it is said, "And Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: for God, *said she*, hath appointed me *another seed* instead of Abel, whom Cain slew." From the term "*another seed*" up to this time, and after Cain was banished from Eden and went into the land of Nod, where he took a wife and built a city, there is no account of Eve's conception; otherwise, had there been, she would not have used this expression in this verse: "For God, *said she*, hath appointed me *another seed* instead of Abel, whom Cain slew." Consequently the genealogy of the Caucasian race is traceable from Adam and Seth down, aside from Cain, for in the 5th chapter of Genesis, verse 3d, it is said, "And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and begat *a son* in his own likeness after his image, and called his name Seth." Up to this time Adam and Eve had only three children, called Cain, Abel and Seth, for it is again said in the 4th verse of the 5th chapter of Genesis, "And the days of Adam *after he had begotten Seth* were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters." Here we have the only evidence of Adam's living eight hundred years after the birth of his third child, Seth, begetting sons and daughters. From the natural sciences and this short but astute history, we feel to rest the *character* of our

work, though the *vulgar world* may hiss and turn from us with *scorn*, yet *reason* and *common sense* will prevail. That the "*land of Nod, east of Eden*," was a *populated country*, and that, too, by a race, or races, different from Adam and Eve, we have only to examine the fourth chapter of Genesis, and especially verses 16 and 17 of said chapter, as it is evident from the reading and testimony which *this chapter* of Genesis presents to the most common understanding, that the inhabitants of Nod antedated Adam and Eve, in Eden, from the fact of Cain being able to choose a wife "in the *land of Nod*," when he was the only child living whom Adam and Eve had at that time. Bear it in mind ye Abolition atheists, that when Cain, the only child living of our first parents, Adam and Eve, was banished from *their sight*, and went into the "*land of Nod*," he took a wife, and she bare a child, called Enoch. Cain soon "*builed*" a city; this denotes the land of Nod to have been settled *at that time* with *inhabitants*; we have no account of these except in the term "*living creature*," 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis; Cain could not have taken a wife without there having been *one* for him to have taken; nor could he have "*builed*" the city called Enoch by his own *hands*, nor could his *wife* have come to the "*land of Nod*" by *chance*; it is evident that it had taken a *male* and *female* to have procreated her, and that Adam and Eve had had nothing to do with her *procreation*; for up to this time they had had only two children, Cain and Abel. Do ye see this, ye skeptics, ye wanton Abolition demons? Gainsay the testimony of the fourth chapter of Genesis, and also of the first

and fifth, if ye can, by saying that there is something in them *superhuman*, and consequently *beyond our reach* and our *reason*, ye would-be Gods! Slip by this *testimony* and deny the Bible, as ye Abolitionists have always done, and we will *stamp* that testimony upon your foreheads, as *banished Cains* from Eden, and then ye may choose wives among the darkies, as Cain evidently did; for we trace our *genealogy* from Adam, Eve and Seth, not through Cain. O, ye Abolition Cains! ye are slaying your brothers, and the curse will be ever stamped on your accursed heads. God is not with you, ye Abolitionists or Emancipationists, no more than he was with Cain. Do ye not see it? or will ye be blind in spite of reason's monitor? Proving by the fourth chapter chapter of Genesis, verses 1, 2, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 25, that *there was one race or class of existences of colors*, created before Adam and Eve, it is natural and irrefutable from this natural history, that all the existences of colors, to-wit: the African, Malay, Indian, and Mongolian, should have been created before them, that is, Adam and Eve, our first parents, as we do not look to Cain for our genealogy, (see fifth chapter of Genesis) but to Seth, with Adam and Eve. Therefore, from this reasoning, based on the first, second, fourth, and fifth chapters of Genesis, how absurd, foolish, insane, and wicked is the notion that all races sprang from Adam and Eve, or that the colored races or existences sprang from Ham! Ye unity-doctrine theologians and and commentators, and ye thoughtless, unreasoning followers in the wake of such monstrocities! repent to our God for promulgating such wicked ideas, and sin no

more! Upon *such sin*, this civil war in which the United States are engaged was based, the history of which will date back more than one hundred years in England and America among demons who pretend to be saints. The unity-doctrine saints can find no protection in the first, second, fourth, and fifth chapters of Genesis, in which we find the narration of the order of creation by Moses, with the genealogy of the descendants of Adam and Eve, with Seth also, who must have *known* his own sister or sisters. The white blood of Cain, in a few generations, was absorbed among the inhabitants of the land of Nod; hence we do not trace our genealogy from him, but from those aforesaid. If the saints and impostors should reject the principles of the order of creation and genealogy as demonstrated in these chapters, we opine they may *travail* in pain to conceive another order of creation and genealogy in the Bible. "The Higher Law" will be a poor subterfuge to pass such saints and demons to another world. Hear this, ye Abolitionists, and know what we have demonstrated by the voice of reason and the occurrence of facts!

In view of so many past ages, and so many conflicts having passed by, with so much enlightened discussion upon the Bible, we have always felt to take the chapters and the portions of the Scripture as they are presented to our understanding in the text. In the 11th verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, we see that Cain was cursed from the earth, &c. Wherefore in this view, he was thus cursed on the compulsory acceptance of his banishment from the presence of the Lord, by having to go into

the land of Nod, east of Eden, where his blood was, in the course of a few generations, wholly absorbed in that of the inhabitants of that land, the land of Nod. This must have been the course intended by God. In this view, would he not have felt the mark put upon him? that of being the father of a generation unlike himself. In the 12th verse, after the declaration of the curse having been put upon him in the 11th, God says, "When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth." God in this verse had reference to perpetuity as to tilling the ground, and yielding her strength; He knew that Cain's blood would be absorbed by the inhabitants of the land of Nod, whom he had created before Adam and Eve, which we gather from the reading and weighing of the 16th and 17th verses of the aforeraid chapter. By the order of creation with reference to the slavery of either the African, Malay, Indian, or Mongolian class of beings, it was not intended that those among whom Cain went to live, should receive the strength of the ground; this was intended for *those* who were created in the *image* and after the *likeness* of the Creator. It clearly shows that Cain was a *doomed man*, and that his blood would enter the veins of those who should till the ground, for he himself could not live always. See how aptly the terms "a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth," apply to slaves at the present day; God knew that Cain's blood would be absorbed in that of the residents of the land of Nod; He knew their characteristics, and that when they were brought to the task of tilling the ground, they would be

fugitives and *vagabonds*, for Cain, in character, on having been cursed, was made to resemble those whom he was destined to live among. In this curse of Cain, God lowered him, in point of standard, down to that of the inhabitants of the land of Nod. Therefore, the curse came from his creator. In the 13th verse it is said, And Cain said unto the Lord, "My punishment is greater than I can bear." From this, we discover that Cain was what we have just pointed out; he saw the effect of the curse; he saw his low standard; he saw his fall from Adam and Eve; he saw that those who were created beneath him, were, from his curse, fall, and disgrace, put on an equality with himself. Therefore his lamentation. If the inhabitants of the land of Nod had been superior to Adam, Eve, and himself, or on a par with himself before his curse, would he have thus lamented? Let common sense answer by taking this condition of a curse to itself. In the 14th verse it is said: "Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and vagabond in the earth, and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me." In this verse, the face of the earth means the region of Eden, the garden in which our first parents, Adam and Eve, were located and habitated, in contradistinction to any other class of *Bipeds* having co-equal dominant sway. Wherefore flows the above lament from him. The second lament is an important point in view of his future state, for this is his language: "And from thy face shall I be hid." In this lament God acquiesces: he does not inform Cain but that he shall, so far as his

soul's immortality is concerned, be hid from his *presence*; and consequently from the fact of being hid from the *presence* of God, he was adapted to fill that low sphere which the inhabitants of the land of Nod were filling, because of their being out from the *presence*, or light of the Lord, and from their want of a spiritual immortality, in contradistinction to Adam and Eve, who alone were created in the *image* and after the *likeness* of their Creator, who, himself, is immortal! Hence the immortality of the souls of Adam and Eve, and their descendants, in contradistinction to those of the inhabitants of the land of Nod. In Cain's being cursed, he felt and expressed all this in the verse in question. A calm, considerate reflection will convince one of this fact.

In speaking of the immortality of man, we refer to the soul, will, or mind that excites his reason to action. We do not question the immortality of the vegetable and animal kingdoms in reference to the perpetuating of their several classes through the genital organs; but we do question all else than man created in the image and after the likeness of his Creator, to have that immortal spirit, or will, or soul, that after the body dies and molds to dust, holds communion with God. Our reason is obvious; in the construction of the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, than in which, in no other part of the order of creation, can we see or discover a desire, a motive, or a wish on the part of the Creator to mold any portion of his creation in his *image* and after his *likeness*, except man in this verse. Wherefore, man alone is crowned with the mantle of immortality on his soul's leaving the body, when the latter is stretched be-

fore us a stiffened corpse. Therefore, "earth to earth, and dust to dust," do, in the inanimate and animate creation, rotate in mutual gatherings and decompositions. There is an approximating grade to humanity, to soul, or mind, and to immortality in the whole sphere of animated creation; yet immortality abstractly from the reading and weighing of the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, belongs, in its highest estate, to man alone! Man is not complete without his counterpart, woman. Hence her immortality! From the third clause in the verse aforesaid, he speaks of his fugitive and vagabond state "in the earth." In this respect Cain discovers that his condition is likened to that of the inhabitants of the land of Nod, that of an *outcast*, an animal. In the next clause of this verse, he evidently fears, in consequence of his curse, that he may be slain. This fear was natural with Cain on going into a strange land, among a strange people, not of his color, not of his language, not of his manners, not of that immortality with which he was endowed at his birth, nor of that knowledge which Cain knew to exist in his once more exalted *estate*. For we have no account of the inhabitants of the land of Nod having been created in the *image* and after the *likeness* of their Creator. Therefore their want of immortality arises to the least logical and sensible mind. For a thing or being to carry upon its face, even the specious appearance of being immortal, as to its spirit, or soul, or will, it would be necessary that the Creator should have cast it in resemblance to himself. Wherefore, what evidence have we that the African, Malay, Indian, or Mongolian, except the Caucasian,

was cast in the image and after the likeness of the Creator? We have seen none within the pages of the Bible. In the fifth chapter of Genesis, we trace the Caucasian genealogy back to Adam and Eve through the patriarchs, in view of Adam's creation in resemblance to his Creator; therefore, his immortality, and that of his consort, Eve; for their creation took place one with the other, almost instantaneously, as both are spoken of in the same verse and same sentence, the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis; otherwise the term *them* would have no significance. In the 15th verse of the 4th chapter of Genesis, it is said: "And the Lord said unto him, wherefore, whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven fold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him." For the reason of the fear of being killed, which Cain had expressed, God pronounced vengeance seven fold on any one who should slay him. What more obvious, a more potent, a more demonstrable mark could Cain have on himself in going into a strange land, among a strange people, not of his color, than to have borne that of a Caucasian—that of a white man? Whoever saw him would know him to be a stranger, from his mark—his color. Cain knew this, and felt how unsafe he was to be in a strange land. Hence the lament of Cain arose to his God, as he was to be ushered out from His presence, His light and glory. This was *human lament*, which, in the course of nature, was to undergo a change from its high position. How deep, how direful, how stained, was the fall from grace!

In the 16th verse of the 4th chapter of Genesis, it is

said: "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden." In this verse does the term *out from the presence of the Lord*, mean in his presence, or does it mean anything else than what is expressed by itself, "*out from the presence of the Lord?*" Hence, could God, in this condition as to Cain, regard him in any other light than as he regarded the inhabitants of the land of Nod, where Cain *betook* himself. Therefore, Cain being in this *land*, and out from the *presence* of the Lord, does it not follow as a consequence unmistakable and unequivocal that the condition of the inhabitants of the land of Nod was the same as that of Cain? Therefore, the wickedness of Adam's descendants does not apply to Cain, for he was *already cursed*, and living with a strange people, out from the *presence* of God, who were Cain's equals, in view of the curse. Wherefore, if that wickedness did not apply to the inhabitants of the land of Nod, how could the destruction consequent upon the flood apply? for that wickedness is mentioned with reference to the sons and daughters of men and women in a direct descent from Adam and Eve, which we see in the fifth and sixth chapters of Genesis, without any reference to the inhabitants of the land of Nod. Cain 'dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.' Did Adam know of the inhabitants of this land? We discover in 19th verse of the second chapter of Genesis, that Adam named every living creature which the Lord brought to him found out of the ground. In the 17th verse of 4th chapter of Genesis, it is said: "And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived, and bare Enosh; and he builded a

city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch." In sacred history this is the second instance of man's taking wife; Adam's having been the first. We have no right to impose on our imagery to suppose or infer that Adam and Eve as yet had had any daughters, for such an event would not have passed record; it would have formed the theme for such a history as is here handed down. The first instance of Adam and Eve's having had daughters is in the fourth verse of the fifth chapter of Genesis, after the birth of their third son, Seth. Hence, from this history we have no right to suppose that Cain took a wife with him, for we have no account of a female except Eve, for him to have taken. In this respect, this history supercedes all imagination, or else it is good for nothing whatsoever; or it is no history; or it is the weak conjuration of a perverted mind. In this history we must confine ourselves to the facts of the cases as they are couched in language which is and has been the medium of communication for several thousand years, in the Hebrew or Chaldaic language. Wherefore the land of Nod was a peopled country, possessing sons and daughters from the text herein presented; else Cain could not have chosen a wife, or have builded a city. If in this instance, one or two or a dozen huts put up without thought or skill, meant a city, inasmuch as we see skill and artifice manifested among the Mongolians, &c., we might, on the same principle of reasoning, suppose that all cities represented in the Bible without regard to people, were composed of one, two, or a dozen huts. The term city, whenever appropriately expressed, means a concentra-

tion of inhabitants within a certain limited circuit ; and can we suppose that Moses in his day, knowing what a city was, would have used such a term, without having special reference to its signification as it has been handed down through so many ages to us ? In those days, things were, we suppose, called by their proper names, as the inanimates and animates have descended to us by their proper names, since Adam's naming them. Therefore, if such have, why not cities, on the same principle of reasoning ? Wherefore, on Cain's going into the land of Nod, we see from history what he did, hence he must have had under his control, a physical force of others than himself, and wife, and son Enoch, to have done the labors, and to have formed the city. This reasoning and manner of drawing conclusions look as if they were natural.

So far as history traces the descendants of Cain, it is herein presented, Cain begat Enoch ; Enoch begat Irad ; Irad begat Mehujael ; Mehujael begat Methusael ; Methusael begat Lamech ; Lamech begat Jabal and Jubal, Tubalcain and Naamah. This history includes verses 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. In the 23d, man most evidently means a servant or menial from the reading. This closes the history of Cain, of his descendents, and of the inhabitants of the land of Nod. In no connection whatsoever, are they mentioned in the next six chapters from the fourth chapter of Genesis. Therefore, the wickedness of men which we read of in the sixth chapter of Genesis, refers wholly and exclusively to the descendants of Adam and Eve, without any reference to the descendants of Cain and the inhabitants of

the land of Nod. Our work is based on physiology, ethnology, the natural history of the Bible, and the Constitution of the United States of North America, drawing analogies and comparisons from all the natural sciences. Therefore the fourth chapter of Genesis is something, or it is nothing altogether, and should be obliterated from the Bible. We have received it for what it purports to be from its reading, without allowing narrow minded men to impose on us their peculiar and fastidious notions, which would convert the Bible into spiritualism, and make a blank of creation. In this observation we do not feel to have said too much, nor to have said it out of place.

In the 25th verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, it is said: "And Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son, and called his name Seth. For God, said she, hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew." In the application of reason and common sense to this verse, we discover the third conception of Eve, and the bearing of a child, a son, as recorded in history. The term, "another seed" in this verse, points out the substitution of this seed in the birth of Seth, who was begotten "in" the "likeness, and after the image" of his father, when he was one hundred and thirty years old. See the third verse, fifth chapter of Genesis, as confirmatory. If she had had any other child after the birth of Abel and before the birth of Seth, she would not naturally, as she did, have used this expression: "For God, said she, hath appointed me *another seed* instead of Abel, whom Cain slew." Such written evidence as this would be conclusive in any court sitting

in Equity ; hence, why is it not acceptable to the great tribunal of man, in common with his fellow man ? There is no account of Cain's begetting a daughter in the fourth chapter of Genesis ; all the patriarchs begat sons and daughters, except Noah. This is historical, and cannot be refuted, taking the Bible as our guide. In the fifth chapter of Genesis, the genealogy, age, and death of the patriarchs, from Adam unto Noah, are presented to our consideration. The patriarchs in the order in which they are presented to our view, are Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lemech, and Noah. In this history and in this chapter, all the patriarchs except Noah with his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, are represented as begetting sons and daughters, and these are understood to be the descendents of Adam and Eve as herein expressed. They are called *men* and *women*, for in confirmation of this we will quote the 26th verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, which says : "And to Seth, to him also there was born a son ; and he called his name Enos. Then *began men* to call upon the name of the Lord," which was after Adam begat sons and daughters ; see in the fourth verse of the fifth chapter of Genesis. The 6th chapter of Genesis comments on the wickedness of the world, which caused the flood ; on Noah's finding grace ; and on the order, form and end of the ark. The first and second verses say : "And it came to pass, when *men* began to *multiply* on the face of the earth, and *daughters* were born unto them ; that the *sons* of God saw the *daughters* of men that they were fair ; and they took them wives of all which they chose." These

verses have special reference, from their connection and the preceding chapter to the one containing said verses, to the patriarchs and their descendants, for men, undoubtedly having reference to both sexes in this term, did not begin to call upon the name of the Lord till after Seth had begotten Enos; see the 26th verse of the fourth, and 6th verse of the fifth chapters of Genesis. The proof of this is in the 4th verse of the fifth chapter of Genesis, which says: "And the days of Adam after he had begotten Seth were eight hundred years, and he begat sons and daughters." Wherefore, here we have an historical account of men and women, for Adam was created in the image and after the likeness of his Creator, see 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, and Seth was begotten in the likeness and after the image of Adam, his father. Wherefore, we trace man and woman from man and woman in their organic creation. *In vain and in vain* have we labored to see if the sixth chapter of Genesis had any reference to Cain, his descendants, or the *people* of the land of Nod in the 4th chapter; but we have seen none. There is not a word nor a phrase which bears them mention. Therefore, we cannot make it say what its whole contour could not utter. It is like special pleadings; it striped of all superfluities, and deals exclusively with facts, which come home to reason and common sense. As yet, we have had no historical account of the patriarchs wandering from the region or land of Eden, even unto the births of Shem, Ham, and Japhet; and from our not having had such an account, we take it for granted* that they had not wandered out of Eden. Therefore, the sixth chapter

of Genesis refers exclusively to the characters of the patriarchs and their descendants, from the fact that in the fifth and sixth chapters of Genesis, Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet are mentioned. Therefore, no allusion to the inhabitants of Nod could be possibly inferred. The third verse of the sixth chapter says: "And the Lord said, my *spirit* (will) shall not always strive with man, for that he *also is flesh*; yet his days shall be a hundred and seventy years." Here we see man referred to in a manner that indicates his wickedness, otherwise the Lord would not have spoken *thus* as to *His* spirit. In this verse the Lord speaks of himself in mentioning *His spirit*; and this is in connection with this term: "for that *he also is flesh*." The word *also*, in this connection, is very significant; it connects God and man together, and means that God exists in the form of flesh as much as man, or the term aforesaid, and the word 'also' mean nothing. Hence, man alone resembles in image and likeness his Creator, in contradistinction to the African, Malay, Indian, or Mongolian race, or any animate matter. Wherefore, man's immortality in his spirit is continued through time, while the body lays down "its tenement of clay." The fourth verse is historical of the multiplication of "the sons of God" and "daughters of men." It reads thus: "There were giants in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bear children to them; the same became mighty men, which were of old men of renown." The same terms as men, sons, and daughters in this verse, are made use of to express its alliance with the fifth

chapter of Genesis ; it expresses no relation to the inhabitants of Nod. In the 5th verse of the 6th chapter of Genesis, it says ; “And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.” In this verse we still see “that the wickedness of man was great.” This term is confined wholly to the descendants of Adam and the word man ; this word as applied to a body was the effect of certain substance receiving a certain mold, according to the organic law of creation. Wherefore, in the narration of the history of the patriarchs, we see the term *man* continuously used. This shows the connection with the actors from one age to another ; it shows them to be of one class of men ; it shows that there has been, in this history, no wandering from this class, except in Cain’s having been banished from Eden, and his having gone into the land of Nod, where “he knew his wife, &c. Cain was cursed ; he went reluctantly from the presence, the glory, the sunshine, the pleasure, the light, and the wisdom of God. This was a dreadful shock to Cain ; he beheld that awful darkness before him, like unto that of the brute creation, from which he naturally shrank back in gloom, despair, and in this lament at its sight : “My punishment is greater than I can bear.” He saw the dreary, gloomy future, with no divine ray from his God, for the sentence of God was final ; there was to be no change, Cain knew, through all eternity. Therefore, would Cain have lamented thus on having been forced from Eden, and out of the presence of the Lord, His light and glory, if the inhabitants of the land of Nod had been in the presence, the

light, and the glory of the Lord? This reasoning is natural; it is in keeping with the text, Cain's curse, and the verses and chapters under review.

Cain knew that the residents of the land of Nod were not his equals, which we deduce from his expressive laments on being forced from the presence, the light, and glory of God. The latter clause of the fifth verse of the sixth chapter of Genesis, shows the rapid increase of the Caucasian race; that property was being defined, and that contentions were constantly arising from the multiplied wants of some, and the wickedness and improvidence of others. This is natural, and in accordance with organic principles, for every organic class of creation has a subdivision, termed variety, genus, species, or kind. Wherefore, the Caucasian class, or family, from the reading of the fifth verse, manifest what men now manifest in the journey of life each day. The desire of some to be good, of others to be wicked; the increase of some clans at the expense of others; the natural lust for the forbidden fruit, and the strife consequent thereupon; the tendency of some men to appropriate many women to themselves respectively, leaving many men without suitable companions; the love of ease; the dread of labor; the natural thirst for power in man, or man would not resemble God who is the summit of all power; the known value of property; the necessity of labor; all combined to excite the malignity and wickedness of man in those early days. Wherefore, in the sixth verse of the above chapter it is said: "And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart." In this verse there is the same continua-

tion of the term, man, made use of; it refers its relation and analogy to man antecedently named, forming the patriarchs and their descendents. It would be unlike the organic law of God to refer to any other class of beings, with such plain and unmistakable analogies in terms and expressions. It could not refer to Cain, nor to his descendants, for God would not twice put in jeopardy one whom he had cursed; hence it could not fall to his descendants nor the people of Nod, for they were already out from the presence, the light, and glory of God; therefore, the repentance of the Lord was confined to man *within the province* of Eden. In the seventh verse it is said: "And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them." The term man, meaning the generation of man, is still used, and it bears its relation and analogy to the man Adam, down to this period of Noah; it does not follow the generations of Cain, nor of the inhabitants of the land of Nod: for Cain's destruction was complete in being put out from the presence, the light, and glory of God, and in living with those inhabitants who must have been co-equals with him, wherefore, they must have been out from the presence, the light, and the glory of God. Therefore, *that destruction* as above announced, would not be applicable to the inhabitants of Nod, except being included in the lower class or classes of animals. This is the only reasonable view we can take of the condition of the inhabitants of the land of Nod, in the event of the flood sweeping over that land. To make and con-

tinute the order of creation complete in all its varied classes, no animate shape or form by twos, male and female, were allowed to be drowned, in view of the 19th verse of this chapter; for God said: "And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort (or class) shalt thou (alluding to Noah,) bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female." Wherefore, which class could have been destroyed? is not the Caucasian a class? the Mongolian, the Indian, the Malay, the African, the Gorilla, the Chimpanzee, and the Gibbon, as well as any of the more inferior portion of animated creation, as we see them divided into classes? Therefore in the occurrence of the flood on the face of the earth, we see that creation was to loose no generic root, or class of animates. In the ark God made provision for their safety through Noah; therefore, the effect of the flood destroyed no entire class of animates. With all the classes of animate matter in view, and with the sphere it was created to fill on earth, we can conceive no other mode of reasoning than the course we have adopted, in reference to organic law, saving organic or original roots or classes; for the creation was finished in six consecutive days, with every thing in the earth, in the waters, in the air, and on the earth.

In the 10th and 11th chapters of Genesis, which have reference to the generations of Noah, in Shem, Ham, and Japheth, we can discover nothing in tracing their descendants or the regions they inhabited, which would warrant us in calling them any other race or class of men or beings, than the Caucasian class. Therefore, they must have been as white as the Caucasian race or class at the

present day, when we consider black and white have undergone no changes in the organization of matter, nor have the colors in the vegetable kingdom since the creation. The bare names of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as signifying colors, we have heretofore fully explained, as being futile, and but the balderdash of crazy theologians, commentators, and religionists, far beyond the purview of common sense or natural reasoning. Such construction of the words, parts of sentences, and sentences, as are embraced in the chapters of the Bible which we have had under review, is, we contend, in letter and spirit, agreeing with the language of the Holy Writ, and with common sense as based on the philosophy of organic law. In the most acute sense, and for the highest purpose of man's creation, God endowed him with five senses, to-wit: seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling. These are organic principles which apparently distinguish the vegetable and animal kingdom from each other. The organization of the latter kingdom would have been incomplete without those senses for self-defence and self-sustenance. Wherefore, God in his creation manifests his designs in the colors, figures, passions, mind, reason, flesh, bones, and contours of the face, as much in the animate creation, as in the inanimate. A defect in the latter of these would be like a defect in the animate creation, respecting the senses. In this view, if all matter were formerly in solution in a state of chaos, could we say that God created one portion of the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdoms without design, in contradistinction to another portion? Wherefore, if there be design in one part, there must be

in all the parts; for God did not perform his master workmanship without a purpose, to which each organized class should be applied in the great scale of creation. Therefore, in this view, we see every part of organized forms paying homage to its creator, in the performance of its mission on earth, beginning with the inanimates, and coming up a graduated scale to man, God's great and powerful vicegerent over all, in holding dominion in mind as well as physically. This is demonstrated by the great organic law which no less governs the sun in his orbit, and serves to keep him central with reference to the planets, than it does the earth revolving in her orbit, giving us day and night.

In placing the dominion of creation on earth under the control of man, created in the image and after the likeness of God, we would not permit the inference, in this work, that man should be filled with inhumanity and brutal treatment to those beneath him, and over whom, as we contend, he should hold dominion! This dominion should be held with care and tenderness manifested towards every class on the scale, from man down to the lowest animal that performs some allotted function in the great economy of nature. No philosophical mind can tolerate inhumanity or wanton cruelty in man in any form whatsoever. Our organic innateness tells us what animal food we may partake of; it forbids us to eat any thing resembling man in any of his physiognomical features. Is this the case with the Mongolian class of bipeds, the nearest to man? or with the Indian class? a degree lower than the Mongolian, or with the Malay class? a degree lower than the Indian? or with the

African or negro class? a degree lower than the Malay; when we see from history that these classes respectively feed on their fellow-beings, where seen in their most savage state, ever retaining their prisoners of war, and fattening them to be killed and eaten on some great celebration, or festive occasion, as it is the case now in Africa; in the Islands of the Pacific, and as it was the case with the American Indians. Were they *spiritually* created in view of light, and knowledge, and wisdom, could they make a repast on their fellow-beings when other food could be procured at less price of blood? Such humanity is a fleeting shadow. It has no kin to humanity; it is worse than mockery to call such human, and place such beings on the list of humanity. Such beings may be taught to imitate, they can never *create* or *design* like the Caucasian; they may have a knowledge of some things, but they have no wisdom to plan the architectural intelligence and grandeur, at which the Caucasian class have arrived, through *light* from God. Wherefore, is this mad and crazy endeavor on the part of Abolitionists to disturb the organic law respecting the institution of slavery as to the African negroes, and place them on an equal with the white men? If the Bible be any thing for us to form our laws by, if the precepts and examples of Christ be anything, if the declaration of rights, and that of independence be anything as to man and States, if the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitutions of individual States be anything, then Abolitionism and Emancipationism flow from the deepest springs of wickedness, depravity, and an aversion to God's commands, which the mind of man can,

with all his store-house of wisdom, depict. No figure of speech can be too far extended to paint the characters of such men as avow those principles, men colored and gorgeously tatoed in the blood of their brothers. Before high Heaven how will such men thus dyed and tatoed appear, at their last reckoning? Oh, ye Abolition atheists!

In all our thought of man, we had not till late thought of defining his soul. It is an obscure, abstract question, adapted more to the pursuits of a Psychologist than to a Physiologist or Ethnologist; however, a thought in this direction may afford the *critic public* a repast to advance more phylosophy of thought upon it. It would occur to us, according to the principles of natural philosophy, that the soul of man, created in the image and after the likeness of his Creator, was a will or spirit embraced in electrical fluid acting upon the nervous system of man, and circumambient with God himself, like the mind or reason of God, which, from a combination of knowledge, produces wisdom, and acts from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, and which, in Him, is immortal. This exists in inanimate and animate matter, and the dividing link is difficult to be designated: for all possess so much life and so much regard for each other in each class of creation, that we feel embarrassed to trace the characteristics of any class in the order of the vegetable or animal creation, as being void of mind or reason. For in the manifestation of the growth of any thing, though ever so mean, we see a will, a spirit in it, as far as our external senses are concerned, not unlike our own manifestation of growth; however, the difference in this manifestation, consists the difference in the

classes of all three of the natural kingdoms on earth. We trace the gradation of mind and reason in all we behold. We have no account of the perfect immortality of this mind and reason, except in man in his peculiar creation; and common sense would, if we believe in the Bible, silence our reasoning with reference to inferring what is not perceptible from Holy Writ. Would it not, ye *almost demon Abolition Atheists*? Reason, the quintessence of wisdom, as with the immortality of the soul, presents itself on each day's report in the developments of the arts and sciences, which it discovers, by the more thorough comprehension of the organic law of creation. All below man leave but *feint traces* of reason, and also of the immortality of the soul or spirit; for without the highest order of mind and reason, which the Caucasian family alone possess, than in whom, we see it, in no other class of animate nature, as the Mongolian class, Indian class, Malay class, and African class, manifest that summit and that order of wisdom, which, in many instances of the arts and sciences, is almost God-like, our progress would have been similar to these latter classes; consequently our enlightenment would have been the same, and consequently, the immortality of the soul the same. We should not have been created in the presence, the light, the glory of the great first Cause, had we been like the latter classes of *bipeds* under review; for Cain, the first son of Adam and Eve was cursed and cast out from the presence, the light and glory of the Lord, which would prove that Adam and Eve and their descendants through Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japeth were created and retained in the presence.

the light, and the glory of the Lord. Are we not their descendants in contradistinction to the four classes just mentioned, in view of the natural sciences which treat of the *formation and coloring* of bodies, and of that wisdom which the great Caucasian family manifest? This conclusion can be arrived at by a comparative survey of the arts and sciences which the several classes of *bipeds* walking erect, have made in their progress since the creation. Sure we cannot touch the mind, will, soul, or reason of man; we see its effects; its abstractness we cannot see through the philosopher's stone, nor through the microscope of modern advancement; mind is not reason, nor is reason mind; but reason is the faculty of the mind that distinguishes objects; hence there could be no mind, no spirit, no soul without *reason*; reason, God-like, and reason brute-like, are two distinct attributes of the mind; the former refers to the quintessence of God's Divinity in the form of immortality as to the soul, while the latter refers to the quintessence of beastiality in the form of mortality as to the mind, with regard to the condition of animates themselves on earth. We have no positive knowledge that our conclusion or statement as to the soul is correct; however, from our researches and reasoning, we feel that it may be as correct as any we have read or heard. We only pretend, from the Bible touching our genealogy, see fifth and sixth chapter of Genesis, that we descended from Adam and Eve; therefore we are, by the order of creation, entitled, to what these were, from their peculiar creation alone like God who is himself immortal in mind or spirit.

In allusion to this matter and those full of narrow

minded conceit, and following the bigotry, prejudice, and ignorance of past ages, we feel to reply in the soft and flowing language of Cowper :

“Knowledge and wisdom far from being one,
Have oft-times no connection ; knowledge
Dwells in minds replete with thoughts of other men
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own :
Knowledge, a rude, unprofitable mass, the
Mere material with which wisdom builds
Till smooth, and squared, and fitted to its place,
Does but encumber whom it seems to enrich.”

Thus most men travail in pain, with the burthen of other men's conceptions, not their own, without originality of thought, in view of organic law. We do not know but the Abolition atheistical theologians may, in their wonted astuteness, their peculiar and wanton philosophy, attempt to overthrow our reasoning and deductions with reference to our application of these terms, to-wit: “moving creature,” “living creature,” and “man,” to represent the “animals in the waters ;” the existences of colors as the “African, Malay, Indian, and Mongolian,” and the “Caucasian.” The Bible tells us what the first term, “moving creature” produced in the waters ; and it tells us what the last term, “man” produced, if we believe in these chapters of the sacred writ, the first, the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth of Genesis ; if we reject these, why not the whole Bible. The Bible is not rejected, therefore, these chapters cannot be rejected with the interpretation we have given them, nor those preceding the fifth, including the first chapter of Genesis ; hence, having gained two points, “the moving creature” and “man,” according to the accepted words as recorded in the chapters of Genesis, from the first to the

eleventh, and in view of physiology, ethnology, and in fact, all the natural sciences, and the philosophy of reasoning from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, we can see no reason why the term "living creature," in the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, should not have produced corresponding effects with reference to *existences of colors*, as the others did with reference to the "animals of the waters," and the "Caucasian race." The reasoning and deductions in this view are parallel, and seem irrefutable to us, from having been weighed in the scale of intensity of thought, and with a view to arrive at organic truth for the good of mankind. In conclusion be it known to those who live in glass houses not to throw stones, and also to those who tread on sand not to create too much of a tempest on the ocean of politics, for fear that the waves may undermine their weak and futile foundation.

Facts differently expressed, yet affirming what we have just said, we quote from an article of ours which appeared in the Louisville Journal, Feb. 9, 1863, as follows, to-wit:

WHEAT'S PHILOSOPHY OF SLAVERY.

LOUISVILLE, Feb. 9, 1863.

To the Editors of the Louisville Journal:

DEAR SIRS: To regulate man's actions here on earth, we should keep uppermost in mind, during the acts of each day, the great manifest *design* of God in his *order* of creation. The interpretation of the *great organic law* governing organized matter, as we see each organized class in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms present itself to our understandings, is easy, clear,

and intelligible, when we survey and examine the commands of God in the first chapter of Genesis, as to each organized particle of matter under the head, class, producing its kind, species, or genus. We should feel exceedingly uneasy and unlearned, if in the mineral kingdom, we should say that lead emanated from zinc, quicksilver from antimony, gold from silver, &c.; or in the vegetable kingdom, we should say, that corn emanated from barley, rye, oats, or wheat, or either one of these from the other, &c.; or in the animal kingdom, we should say that the ant emanated from the common horse fly, the mouse from the rat, &c.; or, in descending lower in creation, the sensitive plant from the polypus, or, in ascending, the common ape from the gorilla, &c. In these cases there is no difference of opinion among physiologists and ethnologists of the present day, for we all, in these cases, exercise common reason and common sense, and do not eschew the principle that two and two make four, nor that black is black, white is white, &c.

These are the great organic principles to which we must adhere; and we err when we deviate from them, in any particular, in the exercise of our stewardship here below. We will now turn to the sacred page of Holy Writ to discover the great organic laws which govern organized matter. We cannot go halves in anything; hence, in receiving the Holy Writ in the first book of Moses we must receive it as it reads, and as it appeals to common sense and understanding for reception. This Holy Book is right; but man, through many ages, has been wont to read that black is white, red is green, &c., upon which he has formed his opinions, judgment,

habits and customs for action and government. In these particular cases we see the false philosophy into which man has run for the purpose of founding the rules for his government. In order to avert ultimate destruction, we must resort to the great organic law which governs the Universe, for our guidance and government. When we refer back to that Great Being before he began his heaven and earth, matter was in chaos; there was no distinction of colors, of forms, desires, tastes, senses, habits, customs, nor of whatever else we now behold on the earth, in the earth, or in the heaven or in the waters. All matter then unorganized stood alike related to matter; there was no *design*; there was no purpose manifest. Who disputes this relation of matter before the creation? Common sense, and this age of reason and penetration, cannot, most assuredly. The curtain, the drapery of creation is now lifted; and as God advances from the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis, in the order of his creation, to the 11th verse, we see the design of God manifested in each of his acts, just in such a manner as a *distinguished physiologist* would *possibly* begin the construction of his imaginary world. There was design in God's making the heaven and the earth, light, dry land, and seas, before he created the seeds which were to grow out of the earth. In the 11th verse we see a historic account of the creation of the seeds adapted to grow out of the earth; in this verse God laid down the great organic law which was in all future time to govern the seeds thus mentioned, and which was that *each seed* was to produce its kind; this shows their classifications, and that each class was to

have affinity for its own in contradistinction to any other. No one questions this; and hence the organic law thus far is consistent with man's notions of physiology and with the order of creation. There is no chance work about the sun, moon, nor stars which we see accounted for in the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th verses of the first chapter of Genesis. In these verses we see the design that God had in view in their creation. The sun was the great center of light and heat in the universe, as manifested in his creation; he was to rule the day, as the moon and stars were to rule the night, "when all to their couch had retired *clad* in silver livery." In all this we see the great and good *design* of God. We welcome this order of creation; it suits our desires and tastes, habits and customs; no one is offended in the bestowment of its influences. In the 20th verse of the above chapter we see this: "And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the *moving creature* that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven." The term "*moving creature*," in this verse, has produced all the animals that live in the waters, with all their colors, forms, desires, habits, and customs, dividing them into classes, and making each class bring forth its kind, as distinct from other classes. In the waters each class seeks its generic company, as, for instance, the shad go together, the whale also, and also all the animals that inhabit the waters. The salmon go by themselves; their habits, colors, and forms are different from the shad or cod. Thus we see reason, though by some physiologists called instinct,

influence the whole animal creation in the waters with reference to associations, each class by itself.

Consequently, each class, as in the classes of seeds, obeys the great organic law as to producing its kind, though they live unclad in common waters seen, yet *unseen* as to producing classes different from *that law* laid down in the order of creation. In all this we see the design of God manifest itself for the ends of its creation. The most common school urchin would say that God lacked *design* in his order of creation, were we to see organized forms of distinct classes, as a beech tree turning into a chestnut, a dog into a fox, barley into rye, &c. In all these cases, as with every class of organized matter in the three great kingdoms in the order of creation, we see God's great design, which is to finish the last touch of his workmanship. Therefore, in all his past workmanship, and still further on, he creates class upon class, making each dependent on the other, till he creates man, who depends on God himself. Hence we see the whole creation held together by organized links with a mutual dependence of one upon the other, acting in obedience to organic law. When we see a watch that keeps good time, we discover that it is organized; the teeth or cogs are one part, the wheels other parts, the mainspring another, the chain another part, the cases other parts, &c., each of these parts is organized with reference not to itself, but with reference to the other parts of the watch.

Thus it is, in the animated creation, we see that two parts are necessary to produce an organized body, that is, a male and female. Man is nothing to creation with-

out woman, nor is woman anything to creation without man; any more than the cog of a watch is anything to a watch without the wheels. Therefore, we see that male and female, in any class of the inanimate and animate creation, are types of the same colors, desires, habits, and customs, with opposite genital and nutritive organs only, for the purpose of procreation and nourishment. In the inanimate creation these organs are located in juxtaposition with each other, for they have no powers of locomotion; in this God manifested *his design* at the period of his creation. In the 22d verse of this chapter we see that God was pleased with his workmanship, for he blessed what he had created, and desired their increase. In the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, we see this: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth the *living creature after his kind*, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so." In view of the organized beings or existences of whatever colors, shapes, desires, habits, and customs as mentioned in this verse, we see in the last clause of the 25th verse that, "and God saw it was very good." Now, in view of the 24th verse, how do we know the qualities of anything on earth except by analogy and comparison? We have seen the productive capacity of the term *moving creature* in the 20th verse, and we do not dispute what we know to exist in the waters as moving animals, with all their different colors, forms, habits, customs, and temperaments, as having emanated from it. Upon the same principle of reasoning, then, we will take the term *living creature* in the 24th verse and see its productive capacity in the great

design of God to complete his creation. Therefore by analogy and comparison of the term *living creature* with the term *moving creature*, we discover that, as God's workmanship is *wholly completed* within six consecutive days, the former term must have produced the existences of colors and their analogies, to-wit: the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, the Gorilla, the Chimpanzee, and thus down to those existences that cannot walk erect, as the Ape family can. We can discover their creation no where else; that they were created with full capacities as the white man to generate their own species, we cannot doubt in view of natural history. We consider the reasoning and conclusion thus far as drawn from the 24th verse as irrefutable, and as will stand the touchstone of reason, common sense, and criticism. The lower classes of animals are created to fill their respective degrees between man and the highest capacity of the vegetable kingdom, perhaps the *sensitive plant*. In the 26th verse we see this: "And God said, Let us make man in our *image*, after our *likeness*; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." In this verse we get organized man, that is, male and female, under the term man. In no other part of creation do we see the terms image and likeness used; these are expressive in this part of creation, meaning to place a higher estimate on man than on all else created; man is last of the great design of God's six days' workmanship. He rested on the seventh day, and there is no account of his ever having renewed his work. As he created man in

his image, after his likeness, did he not through *design* create him alone to be immortal as he himself is immortal, with that spirit which he himself possesses? Let the philosopher reason before he responds, and look at the application of terms. We do not lose sight of this term, *man*, from the date of his creation down to the present time, as given us in Holy Writ. We trace his history throughout the succeeding chapters of the Bible with as much ease and accuracy as we trace in any compound substance the ingredients which compose it, by the means of chemistry. There is no difficulty in this except we *long*, with *perverseness*, to maltreat common *sense* and our own understandings. We believe not in *wonders* nor in *prodigies*!

From the creation down, we trace the animals of the waters through the term *moving creature*; and through the term *fowl*, all the feathered family, with their different colors, desires, habits, and customs. Therefore, through the term *living creature*, we trace the existences of colors with the lower classes down to the lowest of the ape family, on the same principle of reasoning and deduction. In the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, we see this: "And God blessed them (that is, the male and female created under the term man), and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over *every living* thing that moveth upon the earth." The terms used in this verse are unequivocal; they mean what such like expressions signify in the English or Hebrew language, or they mean nothing altogether.

Under these terms man has no choice. He must either accept them or live and die in the belief of Atheism. He must multiply, and he must subdue the earth; there is no choice in this; dominion means authority and control absolute; God gives man no choice in this over everything within the compass of his creation in the waters, in the air, and on the earth. Hence all organized matter, whether in the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdoms, is subject to man from the above verse, and hence the slavery of *inferior races*, though resembling man's *form*, is of *Divine origin*, if we do not discredit this book of Moses.

As collateral evidence of our position being correct, in the first chapter of Genesis, we will cite the fourth chapter of the same book. In the first verse, "Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain; in the second verse we see that she again bare his brother Abel." There is no historical account of their having another child till the birth of Seth, and we cannot but believe that such an event at that period would have been a matter of history. In the 8th verse we see that Cain slew Abel; in the 11th verse God said: "And now art thou cursed from the earth." In the latter part of the 12th verse God said: "A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth," while Cain's reply was to the Lord: "My punishment is greater than I can bear." This expression is natural in view of Cain's going out from the presence, the light and glory of God, as seen in the 16th verse. The land of Nod was then on the east of Eden, toward the land where either the Mongolian or Malay race lived. The 17th verse says: "And Cain

knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch, and he builded a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch." The 24th verse closes an account of Cain and the inhabitants of the land of Nod. Seth is born when Adam is one hundred and thirty years old, and then he and Eve began to have sons and daughters; see the 3d and 4th verses of the 5th chapter of Genesis. How could Cain have got a wife and built a city, if the inhabitants of the land of Nod had not *antedated* Adam and Eve in the creation as mentioned by us in the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis? This is a full, unequivocal confirmation of our exposition of the 24th verse of the above chapter with reference to the term *living* creature. Before the 16th verse of the 4th chapter of Genesis, and after the 24th of the same, we see the terms man and men referring to the term *man* as first seen in the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. When a state, in the way of political opinions, is in apparent *chaos*, as in the United States at the present time, it may be well to review organic law, to rectify the attacks and inroads of fanaticism, superstition, and prejudice, that we may see clearly and intelligibly how to anchor the great ship, in which we are all sailing apparently to destruction, but we hope again to organic law.

Yours, most respectfully,

M. T. WHEAT.

In confirmation of our view of organic law, let us take into consideration the fifth chapter of Genesis, bearing in mind the creation of Adam and Eve, and the genealogy, age, and death of the patriarchs from Adam unto Noah, in said chapter, the generations of Noah as

described in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of Genesis, and also "the genealogy of Christ from Abraham to Joseph," with his conception in the virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, and with his being born of her when she was espoused to Joseph, as related in the New Testament, and in the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

In the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, we see the ensuing: "And God said, Let us make man in our *image*, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over *all the earth*, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth;" which is further explained in the 27th verse thus: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them;" and which is still further explained in the 28th verse thus: "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air and over every *living thing* that moveth upon the earth." In these verses we see the ordinance of our creator upon his completion of his organizing the three specific kingdoms, to-wit: the mineral, vegetable, and animal. The man, and the woman, the counterpart of man, we trace, without the possibility of error in discrimination or judgment, from the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, down to the birth of Jacob, and of Joseph also, "the husband of Mary," of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ. Wherefore, throughout the whole period of time since the crea-

tion of Adam and Eve, our first parents, we can trace the great Caucasian class in the patriarchs, as stated in the 5th chapter of Genesis, and in the first chapter of "The Gospel according to St. Matthew," with reference to the genealogy from Abraham down to Jacob and Joseph. No one, not even the Abolitionists of the most fell color in character pretends that, upon any principles of physiology or ethnology, or the molding of matter in chaos into organic bodies, the patriarchs as the generations from Abraham to Jacob and Joseph, with the Mary, the mother of Christ, were others than Caucasians, resembling the present great Caucasian stock or class. Wherefore, in this view, which is as irrefutable as the chapters in question, we discover that Mary, the mother of Christ was a Caucasian; Mary conceived through the Holy Ghost the embryo that, in due process of gestation, dawned into existence, in the image, after the likeness of his Father! Was Christ, therefore, not a Caucasian who forms a part of the Godhead? Is God then in image and likeness, bearing in view "flesh of his flesh," not a Caucasian from the conception of the virgin Mary through the Holy Ghost? Mary must have felt the influence of her Creator in the natural manner in this case, or otherwise there could have been no conception. This reason and common sense teach us, and it is now useless to dream of prodigies. Christ is believed to have had all the desires of a man, a Caucasian. Man is formed of the union of a male and female fluid in the female; Christ was a man, therefore he must have been formed by two such fluids in Mary, else she could not have been in gestation and have borne a son. It is not

the province of a naturalist to let anything escape notice to prove his position; however, delicate subjects we discuss with due reference to the refinement of the present age. If there had not been design in view to have produced a Caucasian Savior, a man resembling other men to save their souls, and to mediate between an offended God and offending men, descendants of Adam and Eve, why would not the spirit of our Creator have sought a Mongolian, Indian, Malay, or African female to have generated a Savior for the Caucasian class? God created a Savior from a member of the Caucasian class, that his teachings, his morality, his precepts, his religion, and his commands might not be repugnant to the class he was specifically created to save. While on earth he held communion with his father; his knowledge was intuitive; it emanated from the fountain of all light, all knowledge; it came from God himself.

Physiologically and ethnologically, and as based upon chemical analysis, Christ resembled the Caucasian class of the present period; hence the component parts of his body were in those days like the component parts of the Caucasian man at the present, with the same blood, coloring, physiological developments, appetites, and passions; he was composed of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, sulphur, phosphorus, iron, and saline matter. His mind, with his reason while in that tenement on earth, was acting the dictation of its Creator. It was a Caucasian tenement holding one of the Trinity; hence man's near relation to Christ and to God in image and likeness; wherefore, we see the cause, the why of the ordinance of God in the 28th verse of the first chapter

of Genesis. We discover our immortality from the peculiar manner of our creation as related in the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, and from the 18th verse of the first chapter of the New Testament by St. Matthew, owing to the peculiar creation of Christ, his birth, and immortality. These facts above mentioned, and the connection of Christ to the Caucasian class alone, prove conclusively and beyond hypothesis, the design that God had in our creation, that is, that of man last, which we have fully expounded in the preceding portions of this work. At the great juncture of time in the history of man, when Christ was born of Mary, and when Noah was chosen to replenish the great Caucasian class, we see the spirit of God striving to rebuke, chastise, and moralise man by fitting him to adopt the beneficent ends of his creation. In all of this history of man, we trace the terms man and men back to the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis; we see it confirmed in the first, second, and third chapters of St. Matthew, in the New Testament, with reference to the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary, which proves the Caucasian physiognomy of God, for the image that she conceived resembled its Creator; and in this respect, there was no chance work; there was contact in the natural organic manner of impregnation, wherefore Christ resembled his father; his mother, as we have proved, was a Caucasian; therefore Christ was a Caucasian from two facts, his mother's Caucasian blood and his father's image and likeness. He, Christ, could not have been a pure Caucasian, if his father's blood had not been of pure Caucasian. To know and appreciate facts we must strip them of all

their inconsistencies ; for everything both above and below we must look to the organic law to serve as a basis of action. We admit no perfect *form* except as emanating from this ; the second chapter refers to the wise men of the east, showing that such have an affinity for one born in light, knowledge, and wisdom ; for they were Caucasians. The third chapter refers to the baptism of Christ in the 15th verse, while the 17th verse of the same is collateral evidence of the relation in point of blood that God stood in, with reference to Christ, for it is said : "And lo ! a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved *son*, in whom I am well pleased." In this we have a full and unequivocal acknowledgement, by God himself, of his blood relationship to Christ, therefore we have full proof of his Caucasian image, and likeness, and blood, from the unquestionable fact of Christ being a full blooded Caucasian. These facts are conclusive evidence in support of our exposition with reference to the first chapter of Genesis, and especially touching the 11th, 20th, 24th, 26th, and 28th verses embraced therein ; all these considerations are conclusive evidences of the high origin of man, and of his having been created last, and for the special purpose of bearing rule over every thing created anterior to him. Man's devinity is shown from the relationship which is manifest in the chapters under review, as emanating from God, for by "flesh" man, the Caucasian man, is blood related to the Caucasian "Christ," one of the Trinity, and to the Caucasian "Creator" from the fact of Christ's image and likeness resembling that of man and that of his father.

These facts as gathered from the sacred volume con-

firm our position as deduced from the 26th and 28th verses of the first chapter of Genesis, showing that man with his consort was created last, and as God's vicegerant on earth as to mind, reason, and ruling will—that the ends of creation might be fully elicited through that light, knowledge, and wisdom incident to his creation. The lower classes of creation seldom advance much upon the necessities of their natures; and this is even true with many of the whites; yet it is no prevailing truth as it is with the former. If the pages of history be true, and we are not *fully aware* that we can question them, as the Abolitionists do, the Caucasian class stand pre-eminent to all others in the development, from the beginning, of the arts and sciences which shed abroad their light, their knowledge, and their wisdom. If there was chance work in the creation whether high or low, if there was not a special design in the creation of everything whether inanimate or animate, why did God choose the Caucasian Mary to bear Christ? In this God indicated his design; he called him (Christ) his son in the same manner as a Caucasian parent calls a male child his son, and "flesh of his flesh." This shows the blood and flesh relationship of Christ to God and to man, and that the Caucasian race are superior, yes, the supreme ruling race on earth, having through Christ, the Caucasian Savior, communion with their Creator, from whom they drink in his goodness, his light, his reason, his knowledge, and his wisdom, with his power of holding on earth "*eminent dominion*." It is mind, the great Caucasian mind, that rules the earth, acting in accordance to the inlets of light and reason from on high! If

it was bulk of body, or instinct inhabiting bodies without the reach of mathematical science, or within, yet faintly seen, when other worlds are brought down to earth, the design of God as to ruling mind would have culminated as well in the elephant, the horse, the camel, the Gorilla, the African, Malay, Indian, or Mongolian, as in the Caucasian man. Therefore, the Caucasian man who teaches either in the pulpit, on public or private occasions, or on the rostrum, that the above classes of creation just mentioned are equals to man, the Caucasian, libels his origin and the great organic law. He knows not what he says, for he carries before himself not the truth of organic law; by this teaching he becomes an Atheist, renounces his relation with Christ and God, and is endeavoring to form a creation of his own, instead of looking up to his Creator to discover the great truths of his organic law, his first designs.

The term Union is a word much in use at present, and seemingly without understanding its purport. When we take a survey of matter before the organization of the inanimates and animates, we discover that there was unity in the parts of matter; their action upon the atmosphere and upon the earth was the same; their action with reference to the other parts of the great system of worlds was also the same; their specific gravity was the same; therefore, in all the parts there was union. One part acted upon the other with equal proportions, either near or distant. In this view, each organized body which has been created, acts in the same manner, for such body is only the displacement of so much matter of the earth; and therefore becomes naturally through

design a union in concert either in the inanimate or animate creation, and in fact in both, for when such a body dies, it returns to matter in chaos. Therefore, we see a perpetual union in the rotation of matter into forms organized, thence into unorganized matter. An organized body is a perfect union, for behold the reciprocal performance of each constituent part in its conception, inception, growth, and movements. No part is in rebellion, nor is any part dominant except the will or spirit, which we have not yet discovered to be composed of matter. Wherefore, we see no individual rebellion in the fluids that compose the animate creation, nor in those that compose the inanimate, nor do we see it specially or really in the bones, sinewes, veins, arteries, muscles, or flesh, in the three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable, and animal. In specific bodies, rebellion is not to be found. Then where is it? The terms "subdue the earth and have dominion," &c., have reference to the opposition which man would meet with in obeying the commands of God, as he laid them down in the order of creation. In the march of man, and in the development of his intellect he meets with obstacles which he learns to overcome by perseverance and by having a steadfast purpose. This was the design of God. Inertness is a comparative term; the inanimates are nearly inert; they grow without the exertion of man; ripen and molder to dust; however, their seeds spring up again, thus rotating the grand round of universal production. Not all of the vegetable kingdom is made for man's subsistence; much of it is made for that of the lower inanimates, and much more of it would seem to be made for no other purpose

than to grow, molder and enrich the earth. With this latter, man contends in effecting the growth of such vegetables as are adapted to his wants. This does not destroy the link of union between the inanimates and man, for their use to man either directly or indirectly is a perpetual bond of union, union as $\frac{1}{2}$ to life in a contemporaneous degree. In some degree, though remote, indefinite, and scarcely seen, each link or class in the chain from the lowest animate to man, subserves some great purpose in the order of creation, to have finished the ordinance of our creator's works. In this all, there is a mutual dependence, though the lower animates feed on each other, for some are made carnivorous, whilst man, the Caucasian man, sees and knows his food by his reason, abhorring to feed on races, resembling him in form. Though knowing naturally his superiority to all animates below him, the reciprocal bond of union in life he does not absolve, however, he makes them obedient to his will, and subservient to the great ordinance of creation, if it be recorded in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, if Moses should have been inspired, and if the authenticity of the Bible should be held as sacred by the enlightened world. In this picture we see there is naturally a perpetual union, though not equality, yet subordination and inferiority. Union does not mean equality unless it be specifically expressed, for we are in life in union with the whole creation, yet not in equality as to specific rights laid down in organic law. When we contemplate the origins of our first parents, Adam and Eve, we discover the creation of only one man and one woman; they were counterparts, and in this respect

being male and female, they resembled the lower order of creation with reference to organs for procreation; in their creation God exercised his omniscience as he did not couple both sexes in one body; he saw and knew the necessity of two bodies resembling each other in physiognomy and in physical developments, except in the organs procreative and mammiferious. In their creation and in their ordinance we see that God designed perfect equality as to their union, each rendering a voluntary obedience to the organic law which reciprocally pervaded their minds. In neither case there was no coercion, no subjugation, no force, no strategem to be used in the cement of their union; it was formed by a voluntary proneness for each other, a passion, a pang, a will, and a suitableness to satisfy each other in all of the needful, and pleasurable measures of life.

That Caucasian societies, communities, and States are not formed partially on the principle of Union of our first parents, would seem too crude to admit. Both in the inanimate and the animate creation, we see that each class affiliates and mates with, feels for, divides off with, and has unalterably a sexual desire and coming passion for its own members embraced within its own class. It was natural then for our first parents to adopt the organic law as to choosing each other, in preference to other bipeds able to walk erect. Therefore, upon the same law, each class below man in its peculiar and specific career of action adopts, in proportion to its light and knowledge, principles of action for its own government, both offensively and defensively.

The law of production with reference to the staples of

the earth is the basis upon which the naturalist and statesman should form states independent of each other; though cemented by the effect of commercial relations. The relation of man to man is very distinct from the relation of man to woman. Man feels not for man that deep, cordial, unfailing sympathy, love, and esteem blended with passion, that he does for woman. Wherefore does he unite with man in forming States and nations, if it be not to secure mutual bonds of interests and protection both offensive and defensive, and in the promotion of prosperity, happiness, civilization and enlightenment? Therefore, in any community of independent States as in the United States, the bond of union being wholly and expressly one for mutual advantages, admits of no infringement; it admits of no wandering nor digression. It is a bond only for specific purposes; it can intrude no further on the members that compose it than is expressed in its letter. The Constitution of the United States is a bond of perpetual union between the States, formed by the voluntary consent of the States embraced and named in it, with no view to coercion. This term and union throughout the great organic law, and throughout the interests and passions that give rise to consent in the formation of States and nations, are directly opposed to each other. One cannot exist with the voluntary consent of the other. They are once and forever common enemies for want of natural sympathy. Thus stand coercion and union between man and man, and between man and woman. In every sense known to man they are irrefutably and unchangeably opposed to each other. * Therefore, the white, or Caucasian commu-

nities of the earth can only form independent States upon its surface within the lines of specific climates, uniform within themselves, if they desire to reconcile interests, commercial, agricultural, and mineral, to a happy government of the State. In this manner Republics can live and prosper; in this way they can be made to dot the whole surface of the globe; however, it must be understood that Republics are formed only by the consent of the governed, and when man cannot cast his vote as his own conscience dictates without fear or trembling, the government under which he lives is no longer a Republic, but an unlimited despotism. Limited monarchies are capable of being extended over vast extents of country, without much reference to climates or specific interests. Union between man and man is permanent only as interest, prosperity, happiness, and security of property and life are promoted and protected; when these considerations cease between man and man or between States and States, union naturally ceases; it rises and falls with the voluntary consent of parties to be effected by it. This is natural, not arbitrary law. Man having been, as we see from the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, created alone with reference to having no male alliance, no twin brother, is alone let free to choose his government. And what was it at first? Cast your eye back to our first parents, readers, and then to the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. Was it not a monarchy, and were not our first parents monarchs of the earth, "their rights there were none to dispute," if we are to give credit to the above verse? In after time, when the earth became populated, and distant com-

munities were formed, and separated by seas, oceans, rivers, or climatic products, though of the same blood, of the same Caucasian class as our first parents, it was natural for their descendants thus situated in distant parts to choose such form of government, and such subordinates to aid them in it, as their light, knowledge, and wisdom might dictate, and as the ancient patriarchs had chosen for themselves. In the first starting off monarchy was natural from the creation of a white male and female first and alone. Therefore, the choice of Caucasians divided by lines of distinct products and climatic influences is as natural and right now to common centers of whites situated between different degrees of latitude and longitude, as it was in ancient times. Some men seem formed for the temperate climate, while others are for a more torrid. By this difference in the Caucasian race with their desires and passions, we find them adapt themselves according to climate, their temperaments, and the products of the earth. At this age of reason and common sense, it would be the height of supreme nonsense to suppose for a moment that the whole Caucasian family should live under one form of government. It would be too large; it could not be wielded with the present condition of the temperaments and passions, reasons and judgments of men.

Different climates beget different desires and passions in men; therefore, men living in different climates where there is a marked difference of sixty days in vegetation, it is as difficult to reconcile, especially after men pass the parallel of 40° of lat. North or South, the political notions which naturally govern them in such locations,

as it is the productions which the two climates yield, as in the case of one product being corn and wheat, whereas the other is cotton and sugar-cane. A mining country requires different laws from a grain country; and with a desire to make taxation equal, it is difficult to make laws to suit the two interests, and so it is with reference to the grains of the North, and the staples cotton and sugar-cane of the South. Manufacturing interests require also different production from any of the above mentioned. These interests are independent of each other as man was created independent. A well watered but poor and sterile tract of ten degrees north and south, and ten east and west, would, if settled by manufacturing capitalists, foment and keep in constant commotion at least fifty times the same extent of country only adapted to agriculture. The two classes will not, on a large scale, harmonize together; the manufacturing communities always endeavor to overreach, use, and supplant the agricultural, as in the case of Europe compared with America, and as it is the case of New England compared with the agricultural portions of the States. Uniform interests make men feel homogenous and act in concert. Contrary to these bonds of union, laws are spiders' webs, and unnatural; and though contentment may appear on the surface for a time, yet it will not long endure, nor can government last long, unless one portion of the community is the truckling slave of the other, in opposition to the order of the white man's peculiar creation.

At this day and age of reason we do not question the revolution of the sun upon his own axis, nor the lumin-

aries that compose the great systems of apparent worlds, nor the planets around the sun, nor but their motion is perpetual and unchangeable; otherwise their union as when first created would not be permanent, each performing the function assigned to it in the beginning. If such be unchanged and be founded on organic law, all else as divided into classes is unchanged by the influences of climates. The mode of propagation is the same now as when first begun; climate has not changed it; the young require the same attention now that they did in the beginning, and also the same nourishment, which we prove by the unchanged desires and organs of females as to procuring food for, and nurturing their young. All the inanimates require to be in the earth, in order to spring up and grow; they bud forth, blossom and ripen their fruit formed out of the earth; they as well as the animates spring from the earth through perpetual seed that was designed to rotate in universal production. This law as to them is unchanged through all the past ages; therefore, their classifications and classic colors are the same now as at any prior period, unless we admit of change in the organic law. If we should cite before us a class of the vegetable kingdom as the *Dionea Muscipula*, commonly called Venus Fly Trap, we should discover in its habits, desires, and growth an organic design which distinguished it from other portions of the vegetable kingdom. Its leaves are the most interesting part of the plant; they are "petiole winged like the orange; and the extreme part, which may be called the proper leaf, is formed into two halves, which move on a central hinge, and fold up and contract on the slightest contact

with any substance. The edges are beset with spines, and the surface is covered with a glutinous mucilage. The flowers grow in a corymb, resembling an umbel. When flies, or any small insects, alight on the extremities of the leaves, the contact of their feet produces sufficient irritation to make the two halves contract suddenly and firmly, by which the fly is crushed and pressed to the glutinous sides, to which it is fixed until it dies." Ellis affirms that the lobes never open again so long as the animal continues there. He thinks it probable that a sweet liquor discharged by the red glands, tempts the insect to its destruction. In review and in conclusion with reference to the above, we do not feel to be unreasonable when we state that we see the design of the Creator, touching the peculiarities of that plant, in its habits and desires to feed on the lowest classes of animates; for it seems to press and absorb the insect in the same manner that a leech would absorb the blood of animates, when applied to their bodies. As soon as the substance of the insect is imbibed in the plant, the leaves open, to renew again their wonted desire for succor. There is no chance work in this plant, otherwise other plants would resemble it and feed partially on animates. Therefore, inasmuch as we prove the habits and desires of this plant different from all others, we term it a class of the vegetable kingdom as it reproduces itself without the aid of other plants; we also demonstrate the facts of the distinct classes of the inanimate and animate creation, as it presents its physiognomical features on the score of millions without apparent degeneration, as in the cases of Africans, Malays, Indians.

Mongolians, and Caucassians, also of the lower animates and of the inanimates. If the organic law rules one class, it does all in presenting physiognomical features on a large score, otherwise it would be a blank and creation a waste. When all was chaos, matter which now composes the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, was in common; the dry land from the waters arose through volcanic action, melting the minerals, in a state of chaos, and having affinity for each other, into masses as we see them over the earth's surface for the convenience of man. The mineral regions of America we have visited extensively, and usually find the different classes of minerals grouped together, as lead and iron respectively in Missouri; copper near Lake Superior, and in Arizona; quicksilver, and gold in California; silver in Mexico, Peru, and Chili. Though we should find all the minerals grouped within ten miles square near some extinct crater, we should discover each pure or nearly so, and in masses as if thrown together by volcanic heat. In this we behold the law of affinity observed as with the inanimates in the vegetable kingdom, and the animates in the animal. We see that matter once in common seeks, when it becomes acted upon by chemical components, companionship of its own peculiar structure. Thus in volcanic countries, or in all regions, for all we consider once volcanic, we see that quicksilver has an affinity for itself, and is found most generally by itself, unincorporated with other metals; thus it is the case with gold, silver, lead, and copper. In these cases we have presented five metals which were dispersed throughout common matter, as the matter that composes

the African, Malay, Indian, Mongolian, and Caucasian, was dispersed. Therefore, if we accede to the position and fact that quicksilver, gold, silver, lead, and copper are distinct as to their physiognomical features in their compositions, and also in their applications to the separate spheres designed for them in the order of creation, we must conclude that the five races or classes of animates above mentioned occupy the same position and fact in the great order of creation also, as to their specific and distinct organizations. To say that the African and Caucasian are of "one flesh," or that any of the colored races or existences are of the "same flesh" with the Caucasian is absurd and self-contradictory upon experiments having been tried in procreation; for no fool or knave in politics would pretend that a Caucasian pair, male and female, could, if the latter be true to the former, have any other than offsprings resembling themselves in color; and thus it would be with other pairs as in the event of the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, and African, uniting for procreation respectively. If the colors of the offsprings carry upon their faces the colors of specific classes, as a male and female African, &c., &c., at the present day, why should we believe in prodigies at some anterior time to this to have taken place? If the law of motion be immutable, if the law of gravitation be thus, why is not the law of production, as well as procreation the same? since all these were created at the time the bodies were, which they respectively influence. From this reasoning we clearly see the origins of both the inanimate and animate portions of creation to have been divided into classes; otherwise there could have

been nothing specific—there could have been nothing but one huge monster in the inanimate creation, and one huge monster in the animate creation; and if God was specific in one portion of his creation, he must have been governed thus in the formation of the grand whole of the universe; otherwise he would have been inconsistent, and untrue to the mathematical rules of motion which he has laid down to govern the sun, the moon, the planets and stars, in their respective revolutions. In these particulars we deem our reasoning and deductions correct and irrefutable, and we defy the skeptic to answer them in refutation as based on organic law.

If the Bible be true; if the precepts, teachings, commands, and admonitions which it imparts be true also; if it be received as the source and fountain of light and wisdom to govern man, the Caucasian man on earth; and if it be the chosen basis as from God, to superstruct human law upon, *there* and *then* as from Divine law, the reasonings and deductions embraced in this work are natural truths, unless we should be willing, and more than willing to admit that God had had no concernment in the Old nor in the New Testament. If we can do away with the order of creation; if we can do away with the first ten chapters of the Bible as recorded in the Book of Genesis; if it be false or hypothetical, why can we not do away with the balance of it? and why is the balance not hypothetical? wherefore, if we admit the first we must the last, and so vice versa; and if the first be true, our deductions from it are true also, with reference to slavery being of Divine origin formed out of the

dust of the earth on its becoming animated and organized bodies.

Naturalists and geologists do not question the volcanic matter embosomed in the earth, for it is said on good authority, "Dr. Mantell, in *The Wonders of Geology* in the year, 1848, vol. 1, page 34, that the increase of temperature amounts to 1° of Fahrenheit for every 54 feet of vertical depth."

Therefore, "at about thirty geographical miles below" the surface of the earth, owing to its internal heat, granite is in a state of fusion. It fuses at a heat of 2,372° F., according to the very accurate researches of Mitscherlich." This is quoted from Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Vol. 1, page 25, and only ratifies our preceding remarks with reference to the volcanic formation of the earth's surface, and further illustrates how easy it is by means of volcanic heat for new islands and new continents to be formed in "the midst of the mighty waters." In all this we see the designs of an omniscient Creator; we see the machinery beneath the waters that gave rise to dry land, and homes to the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Was there, or is there chance work in this to have mineralized, vegetableized, and animalized the surface of the earth without its impregnation and conception having taken place through a molding will? that to which, though unseen, we pay our deferential homage. Unwilled from common matter, what organized form whether inanimate or animate could have arisen? and if one form was willed, all organic forms must have been willed, for we see no more design in one than we do in all the others. Therefore all were willed

that we see present the same physiognomical features in countless millions, as in the case of gold, silver, &c., corn, rye, &c., or as in the case of the lower animates, or as in the case of the Africans, Malays, Indians, Mongolians, and Caucasians. If the instinct, and the natural impulses of the Caucasian woman were not in favor of the Caucasian man, aside from the teachings of this age of reason and common sense; if she were not governed in her animal passions by the organic law as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, as to everything whether inanimate or animate producing its kind; if there were not an innate desire to have images resembling herself, what assurances should we have in any generation of seeing physiognomical features, on a large scale, resembling one class? How easy it would be to wander from organic law were it not imperative! and were it not our natures to yield to it. In the midst of the wilds of Africa, Asia, or America, what animate possessing one class of physiognomical features do we see cohabit with another and productive of young? or what inanimate thus commingles the vital fluid of its own veins for naught but passion's satiety? Will two mulatto families by intermarrying with each other, be even productive? or will they not run out or cease to have young in the third or fourth generation? Let philosophers answer! And was it the grand object of the Creator's will to cease to multiply the seeds of the earth, whether inanimate or animate, when he made the whole systems of worlds to rotate in perpetual revolutions? for he made nothing *in vain*! If the inanimates and animates could mix without respect to classes, there

could have been no design as to forming physiognomical features in either the inanimate or animate kingdom. We should see no extensive class, as at present, presenting such features. This is in accordance with common sense, and what has taken place in production since the creation.

PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL GRADES.

From the fact of our having proved existences of colors and the white man distinct, in their creation, as much as barley and oats are or wheat and rye, and so on, we are constantly asked, inquiringly, as if we had not thought of the whole matter that composes the colored existences, "What are we to do with the souls of these distinct classes? whether they are immortal or not, and whether they will live hereafter in the same heaven as that decreed for the good white man?" In the foregoing part of this work we have incontrovertibly proved the physical organizations of colored existences, and of the white man, fully distinct in their whole creation and physiognomical features. Skeptics and religionists who trouble themselves so much about the *souls of others*, without in the first instance paying a due regard to the salvation of their own, should investigate the sphere which God has assigned these colored races on earth. Has God placed them on an equality with the white man? and does the white man feel, whether in a free or slave State, to put a race not of his own color on an equality with himself, under all circumstances, and in the performances of all the functions of life, touching the course of reproduction? God, in his creation, was spe-

cific as to everything, whether inanimate or animate producing its kind. This being the case from the lowest to the highest in the scale of creation, and the order or command being imperative concerning distinct productions, each inanimate or animate, in resemblance to itself, could God be unmindful of their *fruition* on earth, while each particle of matter must work out its task, proportioned to its sphere, ability, and destiny, any less or any more than *he* will be hereafter, in another existence? To say that these *existences* of colors and the white man should occupy the same place hereafter, any more than they do at present, would indicate inconsistency in God, for would God love to tantalize us hereafter with such inferior and subordinate company, which *he* would not, nor does *he* tantalize us with on earth, only as man subverts his organic law. God created nothing *in vain*. He shows his distinctive *designs* by colors; and his full design—his last great *touch* as an archetype—was the formation of man and the female, whom *he* has decreed to be nearest to him, and to be his vicegerents on earth, verse 28th, first chapter of Genesis. Who argues that the heathen who has not been regenerated is to be cursed? If not, what sort of a place near the good white man will this heathen be placed? Most of the Africans are heathens, and so are the Asiatics, Polynesians, and Indians. Where will be their seat hereafter, and those who have lived and died thousands of years ago, if we believe in the principles of geology, as to the age of the world?

When religionists and skeptics, as to the order of creation rising by grades, from the lowest to the highest,

desire and persist in associating the souls of the colored existences with those of the whites, where will this association in the form of souls stop, or be limited? for from man down to the meanest vegetable we trace a vivifying spirit, and especially so throughout the whole ape tribe or family, who, though they have not the gift of speech, seem not void of reason and of the faculty of imitation, and who, in this view, can question that these different grades, from the white man down, have not immortal souls, when we trace, link by link, the analogy which one, step by step, bears to each other; and who has the power of penetration to come in and say where the dividing line shall be? when we see so much reason, so much imitation, so much desire to self-preservation, so much desire to propagate and rear each his class in resemblance to itself! Where can we, O God, trace the line between the mortal and immortal flight from earth? We are pained not to know, when we perceive so much reason implanted in all thy works! It has been the task of the physiologist and ethnologist to discover distinct origins, both as to colored existences, with the ape tribe, and the white man; it is now for the religionist to discover their souls, their immortality or mortality, proportioned to their grades in the scale of creation, consequently their responsibility as reasonable beings, their heaven or their hell, all as distinct from ours as their creation was and is proved to be distinct from ours. We have proved that God, through *design* and *foreknowledge*, made the colored existences and the ape tribe distinct from man, and inferior and subordinate to him on earth; therefore could God place, or intend to place, such

on an equality with man in heaven! If so, it would prove God's inconsistency, which most of religionists are fond of proving, to support themselves in their own. In this view, what lady or gentleman, or what lady of a Divine, or what Divine, would be willing to approach the house of God, swung to the arm of a darkey, either male or female, and be seated in church by the side of such a one? This would try the faith of Mrs. Stowe, or the Rev. H. W. Beecher; in fact, on such an occasion they would plead infirmity, which would, we think, be *rather organic*! The church on earth is the symbol, we presume, of the future heaven, and if such a bad introduction be made on earth with reference to the darkeys, touching their color and odor, what could we expect to witness in heaven?

This proves beyond refutation, from a natural sense of right, propriety, and of organic law, that, let the souls of all be immortal as low down in the scale of creation as the religionist may see fit to carry such, each class in the order of creation, whether their doom be to heaven or to hell, will be as distinct hereafter as at present; for the same organic law pervades matter throughout space in the association of each particle of matter by itself, governed by the law of affinity and capillary attraction.

EXPLANATORY.

We fear to penetrate that dark cloud beyond which all is doubt and mystery; but we feel that God in his just dealings will, and has rewarded man and existences of colors as he intended them to be, proportioned to the light and knowledge extended to them. If little is giv-

en, little is naturally expected; from all we can see, little has been given to the colored existences, as to knowledge; consequently little can be expected of them. Therefore, it is natural to conclude that if their souls do not fellowship on earth with the white men on an equality, it would be childlike to suppose that God would take the same consideration of them hereafter as he would of us, for his *purposes* and designs are revealed to us by *his* great workmanship here on earth. Do any negro or dark-skinned worshippers, in the form of whites, feel like doubting the consistency of God in the design of his creation, supposing for a moment that, by any process or freak of nature any of the colored existences, or all, sprang from the white man, or the latter from any of the former, or a turnip from a radish, or a garlic from an onion, or corn from barley, we feel that they would doubt their own immortality, or rather God's consistency to make them so; wherefore, *his* consistency to have a just heed for colored existences hereafter, proportioned to his demands of them. Is the laborer worthy of his hire? The Caucasian race are acting as God's vicegerents on earth, in the performance of their great eventful stewardship; and in view of their having been created through their great progenitors, the first white man and woman, in the image and after the likeness of their Creator. In the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, God gave the first pair their commands, and in view of their creation in resemblance to *himself*, it is natural to infer their immortality, for God himself is immortal. Neither does physiology nor any of the natural sciences make, in any sense susceptible of expression, the colored existences

and the white man equals; and if in no physical sense on earth they are our equals, could we expect that God would appear to us in one light with his creation on earth, and then hereafter, when our bodies return to earth and our souls to Him who gave them, that *he* would appear in another light, demanding intermixtures in association for all eternity with those *colors*, who are but just elevated above the brute? God is a reasonable God, and wholly exempt from inconsistency. Therefore, what we see of *him* on earth in view of *his* great workmanship, and the spheres of animated matter, allotted to the talent and keeping of each one, may we not see the same of *him* hereafter, as *he* is constantly revealing himself to us in our progress, and in our advancement in knowlege?

If physiology and ethnology, or geology, lived in fear of narrow-minded religionists, and felt the necessity to say Pretty Poll to every contracted invention of such a class, the dark ages would still hover over us, and we should more effectually feel the thralldom of such tyranny than the Africans do ours, for they would sap up the very spirit, yea, that manly independence which leads to investigation, fearing that some *pillar* of their profanity to God might, by the natural sciences, be overwhelmed and razed from its pedestal. It is the province of the naturalists or physiologists to seek truth, and then divulge it fearlessly to mankind, regardless of the ridicule of the ignorant, the prejudiced, or that large class whose fanatical notions may be thereby sunk in oblivion. Upon this principle, in this desertation, we have been governed, and we feel satisfied that thousands of the most learned and fair

will entertain and support us in this new development of natural science; yet we feel that many, as heretofore, will still travail in labor and in pain, fearing that they should give some one credit whom they might not know. It is not the province of physiology nor of ethnology to save souls, nor to send them to heaven or hell, any more than it is that of geology or mathematics; but it is to discover, by analogy and comparison in production, with what is rising before us, to the remotest period of which we have correct and reliable history, the relations which each particle of matter bears to each other, and the affinity it has for itself in contradistinction to surrounding matter. Wherefore, we see each particle of matter attracted to matter of its own natural organization, with opposite genders for reproduction in resemblance to itself. Hence, the white man loves the white woman, and so on throughout animate and inanimate nature. Clover seed does not commingle with timothy seed, though in the same field, nor does the humming-bird with the canary, nor the hawk with the crow, nor the eagle with the condor, though these all soar in the air. In view of these circumstances, why do all instinctively obey the Organic Law? if their origins and desires at the period of creation were not different? In this we can clearly see, obeying as all do Organic Law, that there could never have been any unity of the *races* of *bipeds*, any more than that of seeds.

Before Christ 1,500 years, it is well authenticated in the great works of Belzoni, Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, M. Agassiz, Samuel Geo. Morton, M. D., J. C. Nott, M. D., and George R. Gliddon, that there were

four distinct classes of beings, representing the Caucasian, Mongolian, African, and Indian, well known to the Egyptian ethnologists, and antedating Moses. (Indian, as described in the Egyptian hieroglyphics upon the monuments, must have reference to the inhabitants of India, living in rather the southeastern portion of Asia.) Hieroglyphics, representing these, were inscribed at that early day upon the Egyptian monuments, with which Moses must have been familiar, and also with those distinct *classes*; therefore, at the time he revealed his inspired revelations to man, the beginning of which is the first chapter of Genesis, he was aware that either of those races would produce in resemblance to itself, if sexual intercourse was had with its own class. Therefore, it is unreasonable to suppose that God, in revealing to Moses the natural history of creation, had allusion, in the 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis, to any other beings than "the man and the female," for God knew what Moses knew with regard to those four classes; wherefore, *he* revealed this natural history of creation in a natural and consistent manner to one of great reason and natural intelligence. Suppose that God had told Moses that a Caucasian originated from an African Indian, or Mongolian, or corn from barley, or oats from rye, etc., or *vice versa*, would it not have tested Moses' good common sense and his physiological knowledge as to what he knew by his own daily experience? We do not presume that God would desire to *trifle* with man, as *some presumptuous demi-gods* are trying to at this day of reason and common sense. We think, from the physiognomical *figure* of the Red or Indian *class*, as it

must have been *photographed* from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, that it more resembles the Malay class than the Indian of our continent; we have seen photographs of the types or classes above mentioned. If the Egyptians had a knowledge of the Mongolian class, then why not of the Malay class? that has ever intervened between those first mentioned. From natural geography and history we cannot see how the *Indians*, like our continental Indians, could have existed in Egypt 1,500 years B. C., whereas, at present, we are unable to trace a living vestige of them in that country. The Egyptian ethnographers inscribed in hieroglyphics upon their monuments all the classes in question that were then known to them through their geographical researches, that the elite of State might have such knowledge descend from generation to generation. We use type or class indiscriminately, and variety only as a commixture of two classes or types, or more, in either of the kingdoms—vegetable or animal.

If it could be proved that Moses *was not inspired*, the natural order of creation, as it is laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, and the commandments therein contained, all of which we have developed by the philosophy of reason, are wholly and incontrovertibly reconcilable with common sense and nature's order.

The manner of creation as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, is consistent with the now common notion among astronomers with reference to the stars being worlds or suns; therefore, light from them was the first thing that appeared to the earth or the solar system, consisting of the planets, moons, and of the sun, the last

of which serves as a common center of the former two, as each star in the dim distance is the common center of its planets and moons. Upon no other principle of natural science can we now reconcile the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis to common sense, for light must have emanated from an orb of light. This is common sense, and will reconcile itself with those who look into the great organic laws respecting the creation of the whole systems of worlds. Skeptics have said that the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis was irreconcilable with the 14th verse as light must have emanated from an orb of light; wherefore, light could not have appeared to the earth as mentioned in the third verse. With reference to the earth and the rest of the planets, the stars are apparently small luminous bodies serving a certain design in the system as above mentioned, in the same manner as the sun, our orb, serves to them. Therefore, the sun being nothing but a star must have always existed like the other stars, but the creation of the earth and the other planets, with their moons, was only the finishing out of the great stroke in the organization of matter for specific purposes, and placing them, the planets and moons, in juxtaposition with the same, to complete his system. This interpretation looks reasonable to us as we are accustomed to probe everything with the touch-stone of reason and common sense, to discover its consistency. We take nothing for being granted which will not stand this ordeal. There is nothing that we do not question, till we have tested it by the philosophy of reason and common sense

Can the creature be greater than the creator? As the

States created the Constitution of the United States, and as slavery existed in many of them one hundred and sixty-eight years before its formation, without slaves or free negroes having the right of State citizenship in any of them, under any circumstance whatsoever, where is the implied power in the creature (the Constitution) to make what the creators (States) did not grant within their limits? in view of clause 1, section 4, of the Constitution. Therefore, the negroes were not entitled to any privileges personally in the slave or free States during our early history; wherefore, could they be in the free States at present, with that clause in view? The Constitution is divided into three departments, to-wit: Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary. Under the Legislative department, clause 2, section 9, article 1, we see the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* defined, but we see it in no other part of the Constitution defined with respect to its use. The President, has not seen this part of the Constitution; if he had, he would not have touched it without the special sanction of Congress, bearing in mind the *province* of a good man and a *usurper*! The admitting of Western Virginia into the Union has violated clause 1, section 3, article 4, of the Constitution; and every act and every speech made in its favor were an open admission of the right of secession and a usurpation of power unguaranteed by the Constitution. The sole object was to make as many free States as possible, whether constitutionally or not. This is nothing but a common sense view of the above.

In every instance of a political arrest, where the party has not had a "speedy and public trial in the State and

district where the offense shall have been committed," the Constitution has been broken. See article 6, Amendments to the Constitution. The terms "speedy and public" admit of no *wide discretion*, without incurring a high misdemeanor against the letter and spirit of the Presidenage, but is *criminal* in the highest degree, for he is no more than a common citizen, with a portion of the latter's power deputed to him through the Constitution, which the community could not collectively exercise. If the creature be not greater than its creator, which condition the Abolitionists, Emancipationists, Republicanized and Democratized Abolitionists will have to admit, what but defined and expressed privileges can the creature exercise over its creator? It looks rather *absurd* that the universe, or the things therein, should exercise privileges over their Creator. It is self-evident that inasmuch as man acts within the limits prescribed by organic law, thus far he is privileged to act by God himself; but no further without incurring collisions, pestilence, famine, and rebellion. Thus it is with the United States Government and the governments of the States. The former is the creature of the latter. It has all the powers expressly defined which its creators intended to have exercised over them. They are still its creators, and consequently the United States Government is nothing more nor less than their creature, with powers limited like man unto his Creator. The Government acts and the man acts, yet each must act in obedience to the organic law that gave it birth; neither can act beyond it, nor short of it, but its letter and spirit must be acted up to. In this case, so eventful and so fruitful of

good or evil consequences, who must be the judges, the creature or the creators? If God or a State be wise enough to create his respective being, and then create matter exterior to himself, which, in such an event, would be the most complete judge, the creator or the creature, that has just such being, just such vitality, and just such powers marked out and defined as the will of the Creator was willing to accord to his creature? Thus we see a picture of the State Governments and that of the United States.

If we discover in the first part of a mathematical work that two and two make four, would it be necessary to turn to the middle or the latter part of the work to prove the same position, when addition is treated of in the first part only, and also to prove our belief in the work, any more or any less than it would be necessary to prove from the middle or latter part of the Bible, or the New Testament, the order of creation, and consequently the natural history of inanimates and animates, which we find exclusively related by the inspired Moses in the first chapter of Genesis, and which no man can find in any other portion of the Bible? Therefore, as we have founded our whole authority to prove slavery a Divine Institution, upon the natural history of the order of creation, as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, with collateral proof in the nine succeeding chapters, and especially in the fourth, he or she who thinks us infidels on that account is lacking common sense. Such a term as infidel with deist, or atheist, or secessionist, is resorted to by those who extend their knowledge scarcely beyond monosyllables; and hence expect to awe one

into silence without being necessitated to render their most *imperial reasons*. We judge men by their works and words, with full reasons assigned, and bid those who can, refute us in our dissertation, by reasoning from cause to effect, and *vice versa*.

If an astronomer should tell us of a coming eclipse of the sun, or moon, or the visitation of a comet to the earth; and in the form of a naturalist, should tell us that corn, wheat, rye, and barley, with all seeds known to man, and that all animates should respectively produce the class which each represents, in the precise time of one year or that of nine months, what evidence has he adduced to convince us of such occurrence or production, except his word, within that time, till such are presented to our understandings? When the former have occurred, we acknowledge the fact to be in accordance with organic law at the period of the creation; hence, on the same principle of reasoning, should we not acknowledge the latter to accord with the same law? If we believe one we must believe the other, for both accord with that law. Therefore, *existences of colors* and man arose from the dust of the earth; wherefore, slavery, as a Divine Institution, arose from God's ordinance, verse 28th of the first chapter of Genesis. Among those semi-atheists and atheists we frequently hear of the term "unconditional Union man." Let us examine it philologically. The condition of the Union, that is, of the States being united is the Constitution, the form of our General Government; therefore, an unconditional Union man is an Unconstitutionalist, for he is opposed to the

condition of the Union under the Constitution, consequently, a lawless anarchist.

The history of the New England Puritanical religionists, from the period of their abolishing the Church of England from their faith and selecting a faith contrary to it, has been one of domineering tyranny, which stamps them wherever they may settle. From their settlement on Plymouth Rock to the formation of the United States Constitution, it was, nominally, virtually, and effectually, Church and State with them; hence their Blue Laws. These religionists, with their thousands of cohorts throughout the North and West, have been endeavoring to make Church and State of this Government under the Federal, and latterly under the Abolition sway, since it dawned into existence, with their *pious* and *God-like religion* to bear sway, as it did against the Quakers and Catholics. It is now virtually Abolition Church and State, and if these rebel atheists should long bear rule and gain a few points, the reorganization of the Inquisition of *olden times* would be inaugurated in our midst, with all the concomitant evils, as Blue Laws, racks and tortures, which their *prone ingenuity* could invent—manifestations of which we see in their *torture* of the Constitution and in their passage of a General Amnesty Bill. Most learned statesmen, to make laws and then pass sentence upon them! This serpent-like restive character has been at work in New England among the clergy and hysterical women since the year 1790 in a persistent manner till now we see the *seed* of the serpent rather than that of the woman. This character was sly, cunning, docile, and often coiled, would play many

a plank with other *matter* till won over, then polypus-like, it must multiply, or be tortured into multiplication. This took root and grew, not on liberal minds, but on those naturally fanatical, inclined to Church and State, and having no enlarged comprehension of the order of the creation. Henceforward this Abolition character is marked from the river St. Croix to the Rio Grande, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and will be a *stigma* upon those Abolition religionists, which will be characteristic of them in their physiognomy, and will distinguish them from the rest of mankind as the Gipsies of America.

Allegiance and protection are, in a Government, mutual ties; and if the State does not protect the citizen in his life, liberty, and property, she has no claim on him for his allegiance. In such a case those ties are abandoned, and the creature is the transgressor in first abandoning the mutual obligation, and the citizen is thrown back to natural principles. Therefore, we will take the State of Kentucky for an example, in supposing that, out of one hundred counties seventy of them had not more than two negroes to every male citizen entitled to vote, and that thirty of them had twenty negroes to every male citizen entitled to vote; what natural justice and equity would there be, in view of the lands in the former case being poor and in the latter rich, for the majority of the counties to call a Convention for the purpose of abolishing slavery in this State, so long as it was opposed by the thirty rich counties, while these counties are better educated and pay more taxes than the former? In our view of natural law, the moment

that a *State* says what shall and what shall not be property, when she has had a Constitution for years qualifying what shall be property, and when her citizens have invested their means in all kinds of property, she acts the part of an usurper to abolish the use of any property whatsoever under the Constitution, for where and who gave her the natural principle of discrimination on supposed terms of humanity or inhumanity in property? The Constitution is supposed to be formed on natural principles; hence, how can the State strip one citizen of his natural means of support so long as he acts up to his allegiance in respect to the State? Therefore, upon natural law, with the equity side of the Constitution in view, and upon natural reasoning and the natural foundation of property as acquired by individuals in the State under the Constitution, we deny the State the right in after time, to pass an *ex-post facto* bill into a law, through a Convention, of abolishing the property of the minority, even of one citizen, in one species of property more than in another, when the Constitution recognizes chattels, negroes, horses, cattle, etc., and lands, as property, on equal terms. Look at this, statesmen! No one would be so insane as to say that the State could take the lands, horses, cattle, etc., and clothing of the minority; therefore, how could she discriminate and take negro property without the consent of the minority, or even of one citizen? for one is property as much as the other. No one would admit that the majority in a Convention could force a minority of the citizens represented to give up their lands under any circumstances whatsoever, for nature's law says that they would perish; hence, what

organic right has she to say what property shall be yielded up for a supposed public benefit, lest some one perishes in opposition to natural laws? Therefore, all those States that have abolished negro slavery have acted unconstitutionally against the minorities, according to the letter, spirit, and equity side of their respective Constitutions, and are bound accordingly to reimburse the heirs of the minorities with legal interest fully, as if it was other property, and according to the highest market value of the negroes in the United States at the time of their freedom.

Thus far in this work we feel to have proved slavery a Divine Institution, or to have been formed by God's plastic will, in the same manner as the grades of intellect or mind was formed, with reference to the common ape up to man, the Caucasian. And though it should come to pass in view of the present revolution in this country that slavery may be abolished during such period, yet, when peace is restored under the Constitution, slavery will also be restored, or the ancient rights of the States will be subverted, and the people will become truckling slaves to the appetites and passions of their rulers. This can never be; no large community of Americans can be made slaves; their spirits and their physical endurance, patience, and perseverance will not stand it; the great Caucasian mind will be free; therefore, if free, it will, in a State, most assuredly choose such Constitution, and institutions as will best subserve the ends of its interests. This is natural and State, and no less their personal rights.

For those not versed in the principles of the natural

sciences to utter their condemnation of this work without comparing its principles to the works of nature, it would indicate an assumption of mental judgment over one of thought, with a mind open to the inlet of reason, in such a manner as delicacy would elude, and imprudence expose its own narrow and rusty conceit.

To be useful, we must study nature's laws; we must think of and weigh their import; we must take up matter as it passes into the vegetable, thence into the animal, thence to earth, and thence to vegetable again, &c., rotating the grand round of universal production. In this if there be designs in our Creator's works, we must see them; we must experience them in our journey of life each day as it glides along. If one form or class, whether inanimate or animate, presents itself through design, manifesting a single physiognomical feature, color, &c., then all must on the same principle of reasoning.

Feeling to rest implicit confidence in the Bible and the Constitution as to establishing slavery, we feel to go father and view nature's law before their formation. No naturalists can question but that the inanimates were formed first in the order of creation; and while we must, willingly or not, admit this fact, we must also admit the fact that the scale of organized bodies rose by degrees to instinct and mental perception, till the climax of creation was reached in man in the image, after the likeness of his Creator. See 26th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. In this we see man alone with his counterpart woman alone also. This man we trace from the above verse with as much accuracy to the present time,

as we do the coming of a comet, or the eclipse of the sun or moon. He was as he is the veritable Caucasian, whom we *defy* Christendom to prove any other, resting their belief in the Holy Writ. Therefore, the term human is applied, according to our usages of languages, whether native or foreign, to the term man, and to nothing created inferior or subordinate to man. Wherefore, how can we apply the term human to Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, Gorilla, &c., and yet base our premises as to man on the first chapter of Genesis? How self-contradictory and repulsive to the empire of reason, and to the refined philosophy of mental discrimination! We scout the idea of such application as repugnant to common sense, and this conclusion we feel is warranted by, and based on, organic law. When man shall learn to reason aright; when he shall feel bound to be governed by natural law with reference to outside objects as with reference to himself; when he will be willing to admit that God created matter into organic forms specifically, and gave the Caucasian man domain on earth as he gave him mind to rule over everything created, he will cease to war with man, and then turn to subduing the earth and things subordinate to himself. This is natural law, notwithstanding, Proclamations to the contrary; and this will eventually prevail on earth with man, as in the solar system. Let man be true to his Creator and true to himself! come weal, come woe!

Philosophical and Physiological causes giving rise to the slavery of the colored existences or races.

In principle and in faith we are no extremists, basing our political sentiments and writings upon the broad and

liberal ground-work of the Constitution of the United States, whose features, with reference to States' governments and the United States government resemble the natural constitution of man, which God endowed him with, at the period of his creation. In man we see the centripital force which holds him together at every point of the compass; in him we see also the centrifugal force which extends his system and counterbalances the centripital. The former resembles the general government, which the latter does the States' governments. His conscience corresponds and resembles the Supreme Court of the United States, knowing right from wrong, while his mind is the executive, and his reason the Attorney General of his whole system. This is the natural organization of man, philosophically and politically speaking, which makes him a man, and distinguishes him from all below himself. Though all animals apparently have these patent properties, yet man marshals mind, reason, and conscience to the highest degree of the animate creation. In all below man, conscience seems wanting in most cases; however, if not wanting in so high a degree, it is not acute in its perception of right and wrong as in the white man. The brute satisfies his appetite without remorse for the pain of others upon whom he inflicts wanton distress. The hog, the dog, the bear, the lion, &c., have no apparent remorse for the pain they inflict on others, in order to satisfy their appetites. Neither in this view have canibals remorse; and these have ever existed among the Mongolians, Indians, Malays, Africans, the Gorillas, &c. In this respect the passions and appetites of the lower classes of animals and the races

above mentioned are similar in their savage state; therefore, in this state they must be naturally all alike, and they are restrained only by the force of habit, in being brought in contact with the higher civilization of the Caucasian, who has never been known to be cannibal in a tribe-like or national point of view. These are nice and valuable distinctions to be considered by those who have so long endeavored to prove the unity of the races, in view of their natures having such marked peculiarities in their appetites and passions. Upon a chemical and anatomical analysis we find the different classes of the vegetable kingdom possess distinct properties organized out of matter once in chaos and in common, with veins, arteries, and pores, and seemingly with all of the paraphernalia of life and growth so common to animate existence. When we wound an individual of any of the classes of the above kingdom, we see its lament in tear-like flows of that fluid which is as necessary to it as man's blood is to man. We acknowledge this all to organic forms designed by God; and if each class in the creation, whether it be in the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdom, did not manifest design in its incipient organization, why do we see such distinctions? In the organization of matter which makes fire, and the fluid that makes ice, we are wont to acknowledge that their properties are wholly distinct and unrelated from the beginning, except when matter was in chaos. Why not then make the same acknowledgment with reference to all classes of matter created from the lowest class to the highest in the three kingdoms? when the distinctions are as clear and full in the latter cases as in the former.

How long must man travail in pain and in darkness ere he will nerve himself up to conquer and eject notions founded in darkness, on prejudice, and superstition, from his proneness to believe something. When man shall have done this, he will be less arrogant, but more *matter of fact*. He will know the great sphere which he was created to fill; and instead of being an enemy to the great ordinance of God which he established between the three kingdoms below man, and man himself, the last created of the animate kingdom, as we see in the first chapter of Genesis, we as Caucasians shall all be in favor of holding that unequivocal dominion, which God enjoined on man and his consort in the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis. Hence the first ten chapters of Genesis, and especially the first, the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters are collateral proof of the organization of matter in common and in chaos, into specific classes, beginning with the lowest and ascending to the highest who was blessed as seen in the 28th verse, and who was commanded to "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." This subject-matter has been fully and lucidly set forth in this part of our work, and that too in a manner which we will challenge the unity doctrine theologians, commentators, and sophists to refute by argument based on the organization of matter or by Bible testimony which we find recorded in the first ten chapters of the first Book of Moses, called Genesis. We have found it entirely unnecessary to go

past the tenth chapter of the above book to make our collateral testimony and proof fully irrefutable. And we hold in contempt those narrow-minded and selfish men who take things for granted without the spirit, will, and enterprise to investigate for themselves, the all important classifications of matter as it became organized, at the period of creation. They are low and grovelling; they prefer the opinions of others whether founded on reason or on a perversion of facts, to their own investigations after truth. Slavery as it exists in the Southern States, the Spanish West Indies, and Brazil, is either a moral and Divine blessing to which man should pay due obedience in view of his Creator, that is, he should nurture it, giving it all the aid and comfort he can; or else it is a curse of which he should rid himself as soon as possible. The great error of most men is to acquiesce in a thing without searching into its philosophical merits or demerits, and to adopt what their ancestors adopted without knowing organically how correct their adoption might be in either case. This has been an age of vast developments; its being difficult for the mind of man to keep pace with all the incidents and ameliorations which throng his onward journey of life; yet, however, for a time, genius pauses, while the iron heel of the war horse is snorting wildly over our once happy homes where angels smiled and met us! Is it right, is it manly, is it noble for us to believe in slavery because the slave States adopted it? because the Constitution sustains it? because the Dutch and English at an early period of our history exported the negroes of Africa to the shores of America and sold them in bondage? or because they

have been held in bondage within the bounds of the United States since 1620? and because it is now a custom which is said to establish moral rights? These causes alone do not touch the organic law regulating slavery, and the dominion of the white man over the inferior races. From such we should have no justification in holding the Africans in bondage. The act would be tyranny and usurpation, which, in view of natural law, we cannot adopt in obedience to the commands of God. Therefore, to justify ourselves in holding absolute dominion over the colored races, and especially the African, we must look to matter when in chaos, and trace the design of God in his organization of chaotic matter into bodies, whether inanimate or animate. In a physiological sense we question not the formation of the solar system consisting of the sun, planets, moons, asteroids, and stars, before God made organic bodies out of matter to exist on them. Philosophically we cannot question their habitation, if there be science in astronomy, in view of comparing the planet, earth, with the others that revolve around the sun. Can we say that the earth was the only part inhabited by both inanimates and animates, and all else made to contribute to it? or shall we say that it is a mere fragment of creation, acting its part in unity with the other portions that make up the grand whole of the universe? If then the mind and reason teach us that the earth was created before the inanimates or animates, they certainly teach how God began with the lowest of the inanimates and rose by degrees, class by class through all of them, into the animates by degrees, class by class till man was created. The config-

urations, physiognomies, colors, habits, and customs of all organized matter as above created, now present themselves to our consideration. They exist on earth, and by the study of mineralogy, botany, and geology, supported by physiology, chemistry, and ethnology, we discover the several relations that organized matter bears to each other, from which we see that no distinct class presented to our mind depends on another for generation; therefore if one organized body can generate its specific class separately, why not all? In the inanimate creation, no one, not even a Republican or Abolition Atheist questions the above fact with reference to specific classes; why then in the animate creation should man question the fact, when he sees specific classes? and moreover, why should he question the fact with reference to specific classes in the creation of the five races of *animate bipeds*, to-wit: the African, Malay, Indian, Mongolian, and Caucasian, any more than he should question the fact touching the creation of five distinct classes of inanimates in the vegetable kingdom, as corn, wheat, barley, rye, and oats? or the fact as to the creation of five distinct classes in the mineral kingdom, as gold, silver, iron, lead, and quicksilver? In all of these three cases the events as to the production are parallel, and if the fact of the distinct classes exist in one, should we not show our brutish skepticism in not awarding it to all? What is there in most men that lead them to call the colored races their fellow-men? It is bigatry, bias, superstition, prejudice, fanaticism, and false teaching, let it emanate either from the pulpit or the forum; and such men as do teach it, knowing better by the inlets of rea-

son, by analogy, and comparison, and also by seeing each class of creation generate its kind, should be denounced as maniacs, unfit to teach an enlightened public mind in this age of reason and common sense. The first and fourth chapters of Genesis are collateral proofs of our position; therefore, we feel, if there be truth in this Holy Writ, which the Abolitionists doubt, believing in a "higher law system," we have in our argument and deductions, our Creator on our side to defend us in holding all below man, the Caucasian, in perpetual bondage as the 28th verse of the first chapter of Genesis indicates to common sense, and as the fourth chapter of Genesis proves that the inhabitants of the land of Nod to have antedated Adam and Eve, our first parents, that is, of the Caucasian race.

If there be any truth in organic law and in those chapters of the Bible above mentioned, all those who oppose the perpetual slavery of the colored races, and especially of the African, are rebels against that law and Divinity itself, bringing the whole train of vices and crimes incident to such departures, upon richly populated districts, as we have seen it exemplified in the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, and as we are now seeing it exemplified in the United States. We denounce the Abolitionists as worse than Demon Hypocrites, for they would, and are robbing Peter to Paul. They are plunders of the public treasure, public and private morals, and of all that a nation can justly boast. They have mostly emanated from the Puritan stock of traitors who could not rule England nor Holland; but who came to America to rob the Indians of

their lands, and of their *corn* the first winter of their sojourn in America; and they are still in all their religious emotions and exercises robbing the Indians further south and west. In their view, all of the States save New England are settled with *Indians*; and consequently their lands, and provisions are their lawful prizes when acquired, if we believe in "the higher law system," which is taught by their leaders. We must consider it a healthful treat and a virtuous act worthy of the ancient Gods to be robbed by such pious Saints. We must not complain against it, the sacred order, if we do, we are secessionists, and consequently have no rights or equal terms with *man*. It does not require a telescope to see their *virtues*! They can be all seen, scanned and adjusted at a glance; and even those Demons want to bear rule over those Indians figuratively, who will always rebel against their "higher law system;" and they can set this down in their calender, and if they persist much longer in their fat contracts and government robbery, the Indians of the fair Savannahs in the West will leave them to shiver and freeze in the cold, or live like the Northern bears in winter. This may be repulsive, but the Indians must protect themselves.

If, in the advancement of the science of Astronomy, it should be discovered that the stars are centers of systems of planets and moons, serving in the vast distance as so many suns, should we be considered unscientific to suppose that our solar system including the sun, planets and moons, should have been the last adjusted to poise the whole universal systems of worlds? The

great creation well adjusted this system each in its orbit with reference to the relation of the quantity and weight of matter each body contained, as to itself or others, bearing in view relative distances, both respecting this system and all others. This system may have received its light from other systems in its process to completion, which, admitting the Bible to be true and the inspiration of Moses to have been a fact, we should infer from the reading of the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis; for light must have emanated from a created orb of light revolving upon its own axis. This is rather conclusive evidence of the stars serving as centers of other systems, from which on the above day the earth received light. Upon our system having been completed and its motions regulated with reference to each body and all others, it is natural to infer that there should have been created a firmament and all else as laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, which is only a physiological representation of the mode of organizing matter in chaos into specific objects. As soon as dry land appeared and the rivers were formed by the floods of rain on the mountains and plains, the process of mineral formation was unquestionably begun, the oldest of which may be seen in the rocks, perhaps granite, and thus the process was continued through the agencies of the atmosphere, heat and cold, dryness and dampness, capillary and chemical attraction and cohesion, till the whole mineral kingdom was formed. In review of the matter once chaotic that now composes the different classes of minerals, we trace the immutable organic law of our Creator in forming specific bodies. For if his design had not

been perfect, there would have been no pure metals, as gold, silver, iron, lead, &c., representing classes distinct and alone. The next kingdom formed out of matter in chaos, undisturbed, reposing on the earth's surface as dust without organic design, was the vegetable kingdom. Throughout this we behold the organic law of God implanted in each body organized from the dust of the earth, with full capacities given to each class to reproduce a body resembling its progenator, in configuration, color, desires, habits, and in physiognomy. Thus we behold the fruits of the earth, and in fact all the vegetable inanimates.

The next and last kingdom formed out of matter in common and in chaos was the animal kingdom, in the waters, in the air, and on the earth. The process in the formation of the animate kingdom was unquestionably begun with the lowest of this kingdom among which we notice the polypus, nearly akin to the sensitive plant in the vegetable kingdom. We cannot question the formation of the animate kingdom in the waters, in the air, and on the earth to have taken place class by class in the ascending scale, with more will, mind, and reason, till man, the great Caucasian head, was created as a special vicegerent to rule and direct the cultivation of the earth, with that knowledge and wisdom innate to man born "in the image, after the likeness" of the Creator of all. In proof these positions, touching the three kingdoms above mentioned, we cite the first chapter of Genesis, upon which we have commented in the second part of this work, to a considerable length, with the endeavor to bring man's mind, reason, and conscience back to organic law. 29

PART III.

PROGRESS OF SLAVERY SOUTH AND SOUTH WEST, WITH
FREE LABOR ADVANCING, THROUGH THE ACQUISITION
OF TERRITORY.

In the contemplation of the vast Continent of America and the Islands adjacent to it, its majestic rivers and ocean-like lakes, its mountains and valleys, presenting all shades of fertility and of climate, with all the needful, useful and ornamental metals; stones for sculpture and ornament; forests for architecture, gums, medicine, and food to man; and plants not only to nurture the human species, but to serve as a balm against every ill but age, we admire its peculiar adaptation to the great division of free, and slave labor, and to the progress of *slave labor* into its tropics.

The onward advance of Americans to the South West with the institution of slavery to serve as a pioneer labor, to reclaim the forests and swamps of Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and South America, notwithstanding the popular rage of *abolitionism* against it, is, and will be the inevitable result of *reason* and *common sense*! And by this means, without freeing a negro, the free States will march down gulf-ward, as fast as the Northern Slave States, relatively speaking, shall find it their interest to move

upon more fertile lands adjacent to Texas, as the Mexican States of Chihuahua, Sonora, Lower California, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Durango, Sinaloa, and Tamaulipas, shall be acquired and opened to American settlement in our onward progress to *civilization* and *enlightenment*. In the States of Chihuahua and Durango, the lands on the rivers and small streams can be irrigated, and made to produce corn, wheat, barley and cotton in the greatest abundance, with all such vegetables as are useful to man. Iron, copper, silver and gold are their most valuable products, and useful to the comforts of man. Coal abounds in these States. The lands in these are elevated, possessing a healthful climate; and the valleys among the mountains of the Sierra Madre, are truly picturesque, and grand, and fertile beyond description, being formed from the washings of volcanic eruptions.

Compared with Delaware and Maryland with reference to the profits of negro slavery, the rich soils and fine pasturages of Durango and Chihuahua, including mining pursuits, would cast the former States in obscurity, should we acquire them, and transport the slaves from the former to the latter, in the march of emigration.

Without a *struggle* among the *politicians* for *high positions*, we would acquire two more slave States and two more free States, giving the negro a much milder climate to live in,—one in which he could pay his master at least three hundred per cent. more profit than by remaining slaves in Delaware and Maryland.

The State of Lower California would necessarily be a free State from natural causes;—the smallness

of the valleys, and general want of water for irrigation;—however, it is remarkably adapted to pasturage; and the plots of land where water can be had in abundance, are adapted to the growth of fruits, belonging both to the tropics and the temperate zones,—such as oranges, lemons, dates, bread-fruit, and the like, with pears, peaches, figs, grapes, plums and apricots,—all of which ripen there to a higher degree of perfection, than elsewhere, because by irrigation, they are supplied with water when they need it, and there is no rain to wash off *that sweetness*, which a warm climate and a clear sky are so capable of infusing.

The States of Sonora and Sinaloa on the Gulf of California and the Pacific, and the States of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas, on the Rio Grande, and near it, and on the Gulf of Mexico, are commanding points of consideration in every respect as to promoting the prosperity, happiness, civilization and enlightenment of mankind, when they are trained to produce what their soils, climate, and mines can make them. The Rio Grande can be turned from its *course*, and made to flow over millions of acres of soil composed of volcanic ashes, debris and vegetable decomposition, on both sides of its banks, and by the means of slave labor,—what amount of cotton, sugar, and corn could not be produced in the States of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, and in the Western part of Texas! In the States alluded to, on the Pacific and the Mexican Gulf, by acquisition in part, we have room for four more powerful Slave States, where they should clear

five hundred dollars to the hand in the growth of cotton and sugar;—and who in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri, would not exchange such magnificent profits and soils, for the poor worn-out lands of these States, letting them become free by the transmission of their slaves to the South-West, and fill them up with freemen of our own color and origin?

By irrigation in these new Slave States, fifty and sixty bushels of corn can be produced to the acre; two bales of cotton; three thousand pounds of sugar, ten thousand pounds of grapes; and in the lower part of Sinaloa and Tamaulipas, the tropical productions in perfection, besides El Maguey, which will double the profits of the other staples. By this *system* of farming or planting, we are sure to have an abundance every year, and the expense of irrigation is nothing compared with the certain advantages accruing to the husbandman. El Maguey or Agave Americana is turned, from its peculiar and useful properties, to most of the uses of man, by its varied appliances. It serves for drink and food, cordage, and clothing, paper, building, and fencing. Nature, here too, teems with her bountiful stores for man in the growth of plants to supply his real or imaginary wants. By irrigating the lands in Sonora, which is well supplied with small rivers flowing into the Gulf, whose bottoms are wide and rich, formed of volcanic matter, and those on the Rio Grande;—there would be a certainty with reference to cotton, its being a fine staple and free from dirt, as there would be no rain falling, one out of ten years, during the gather-

ing season. In the States of Sinaloa, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas, there are abundant small streams rising in the Sierra Madre, which are, and could be, to a much larger scope, extended to irrigation. Many of the valleys of these States seem closed in, with a large stream rising in the mountain gorges, through which there are roads traversing the country. Here, many times, we see thousands of acres of fertile lands cut off from the attack of *enemies* and the Northern *blasts* ! Here man could *fertilize* and *generate* ! The southern portion of Tamaulipas, especially on the Santander and Tampico rivers, presents a tropical forest and plumage, with a richness of soil and verdant pasturage, rarely to be met with ; and here nature's soft repose has scarcely been touched by the *art of man* ! The rains prevail in June, July, August and September, and during the other months it is usually dry, with a clear, bright sky, and soft atmosphere.

Here, wherever man travels into the forest wild, he is ever surrounded by the happy products of nature ; for here he sees the *palo de vaca*, or cow tree, he taps it, and drinks its fluid, not unlike animal milk ; and there he beholds the bread fruit tree ; he plucks the fruit, bakes and eats it as bread. The India-rubber or Caoutchouc tree also abounds in the tropics of Mexico, below the altitude of two thousand feet. This is well known to commerce, and the profits from its exudations have, of late years, become extensive from its being applied to so many purposes of life. Though the State of San Louis Potosi in Mexico is situated on the table lands, in the rear and

west of the State of Tamaulipas, it has a mild and salubrious climate, where not only the cereals of the North grow most luxuriantly, but El Maguey, so noted in history and in commerce, grows naturally all over the plains, and is, in many parts of this State, extensively cultivated with great profits. Cultivation is pursued here by the means of irrigation, which ensures what is planted to grow and reward the husbandman. This State in Mexico, compared with the State of Tennessee in the United States, though in the extent of territory not half the size, is far more productive, and under the ægis of the United States Government, with the introduction of slavery, it would free the latter State of its slaves, by the exhibition of its profits, to the most casual observer.

So noted and so real are the products of the Maguey plant of Mexico that he who should be so ambitious and provident as to plant one hundred thousand Magueys, and still subsist till they arrive at maturity, is sure, with a proper forecast as to the care of them, of an ample fortune to descend to his posterity. In a good soil, and under a similar culture to corn for three years, they will, in five years, produce the golden harvest. Frequently they produce two gallons per day; and to effect this, the period of inflorescence is closely watched, and when the spiral stem begins to shoot up from the center, this is cut out in a circular form, so as to hold five quarts, and the fluid rises from the roots, and not unfrequently fills this cavity twice per day for three, and even five months! The juice is a pleasant subacid, and ferments readily, owing to the saccharine and mucilagi-

nous matter it possesses. It is, many times, called the vine of Mexico. Often have we drunk this juice fresh and fermented, and never did we perceive but pleasant and medicinal effects from its use. One plant should yield twenty gallons of muscal, worth twenty-five cents per gallon at the distillery, which would make the plant worth five dollars each, besides the fibre obtained from the leaves, that would be worth enough to pay the cost of cultivation and manufacturing.

The State of Zacatecas, lying west of the State of San Louis Potosi, might also share a portion of the slaves of Tennessee, and be as profitably employed in this State, not only in agriculture but in mining, which, to a great extent, has been abandoned of late years, on account of the many revolutions in the Republic. In this State there is immense mineral wealth; though silver is the only *one* known to be the most abundant. Every American, let him live North or South, East or West, seems to have an *innate desire to progress*; and this can be done only in three ways: by going West, Southwest and South. It is a fact recorded in all past history, that a nation which is prosperous, progressive and happy, acquires, in proportion to its power, the lands adjacent to it, in case of its being the stronger. There is some excuse made for this apparent negotiation; though it be forced, by paying a consideration,* without the privilege of an alternative. Therefore, as we Americans can pretend to act only upon the principles of human nature in our onward *progress and improvements*, there can be no question but that, in the pro-

* Seven-eighths of the Mexicans are of mixed colors, possess no property worthy of mention, and are peones.

cess of time, the United States Government will acquire not only Mexico, Central America, and these South American States, to-wit: the Guianas, Venezuela, New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and also Chili; but also the West Indies, by reason of their juxtaposition. The productive capacities of these several independent States and dependencies, would, under a *slave cultivation*, increase not only our own wealth and importance, but those of other nations, far beyond our present conception and computation!

If the product of cotton should be cut off through adverse and unforeseen contingencies at any future time, the loss in the certainty of this product will be as much to the North and to Europe as to the South, for the former are manufacturing communities, while the latter are essentially an agricultural one. If the planters make ten or fifteen cents a pound by its growth, the manufacturer makes the same, and this, too, by tasking the sweat of the white operative, whose wages are narrowed down to a Northerner's *nicety in calculation*. In the performance of the labor of the latter we see a rigid discipline in tasking and exaction, as we do in that of the former. The one is to a *human being*, while the other is to a *progressive existence of color*, possessing a degree of humanity. This is the best definition of the negro, Malay, Mongolian and Indian, that *can be given*, for it gives them wholly all they are worth to the performance of God's command and ordinance.

The history of no foreign country where the manumission of slavery has taken place furnishes us with

examples of material prosperity in every point of view, especially when the productions were tropical, or bordering on the tropics, since that event. Hence the abolition of slavery, in any form, is a *curse* to the negro, to the white man, is contrary to the command of God, and is the sequence of Atheism! By the ignorant and prejudiced it is affirmed that the great North is the most productive; and for the purpose of deciding this point and doing justice to whom, in this case, justice is due, we will quote from a Report on Commerce and Navigation a summary statement of the value of exports of the growth, produce, and manufactures of the United States, for the year ending June 30, 1859; the productions of the North and of the South, respectively, being placed in opposite columns; and the articles of a mixed origin being stated separately. It is as follows:

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE PRODUCTS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH, WITH THEIR EXPORTS.

EXPORTS OF THE NORTH.	EXPORTS OF THE SOUTH.
<i>Product of the Forest.</i>	<i>Product of the Forest.</i>
Wood and its products...\$7,829,666	Wood and its products...\$2,210,884
Ashes, Pot and Pearl.....643,861	Tar and Pitch.....141,058
Ginseng.....54,204	Rosin and turpentine.....2,248,381
Skins and furs.....1,361,352	Spirits of Turpentine.....1,306,035
<i>Product of Agriculture.</i>	<i>Product of Agriculture.</i>
Animals and their products.....15,262,760	Animals and their products.....287,048
Wheat and wheat flour...15,113,455	Wheat and wheat flour...2,169,328
Indian corn and meal.....2,206,396	Indian corn and meal.....110,976
Other grains, biscuit and vegetables.....2,226,585	Biscuit or ship bread.....12,864
Hemp and clover seed.....546,060	Rice.....2,207,148
Flax seed8,177	Cotton161,434,923
Hops.....53,016	Tobacco, in leaf.....21,074,038
	Brown sugar.....196,935
\$45,305,541	\$193,399,618

ARTICLES OF MIXED ORIGIN.

Refined Sugar, Wax, Chocolate, Molasses.....	\$ 550,937
Spirituuous liquors, Ale, Porter, Beer, Cider.....	1,370,787
Vinegar, Linseed oil.....	
Household furniture, Carriages, Railroad cars, etc.....	2,722,797
Hats, Fur, Silk, Palm Leaf, Saddlery, Trunks, Valises.....	317,727
Tobacco, Manufactured and Snuff.....	3,402,491
Gunpowder, Leather, Boots, Shoes, Cables, Cordage.....	2,011,931
Salt, Lead, Iron, and its Manufactures.....	5,744,952
Copper and Brass, and Manufactures of	1,048,246
Drugs and Medicines, Candles and Soap.....	1,933,973
Cotton Fabrics, of all kinds.....	8,316,222
Other Products of Manufactures and Mechanics.....	3,852,910
Coal and Ice.....	818,117
Products not enumerated.....	4,132,857
Gold and Silver, in Coin and Bullion.....	57,502,305
Products of the sea, being Oil, Fish, Whalebone, etc.....	4,462,974
Value of Products of Mixed Origin.....	\$97,189,226
Value of Northern Products.....	\$45,305,541
Value of Southern Products.....	\$193,399,618

Total Exports..... \$335,894,385

It is said that the South could not live without the East, North and West! What blind presumption in view of all her exports! By some dirty Abolition sheets like the New York Tribune, Chicago Tribune, the Cincinnati Gazette, etc., etc., it has been said that the South, in a governmental sense, is an expense to the North. Contrast the value of the products, and then see where the expense lies, ye dupes! The South supplies the North and West with most all of their rice, tobacco, sugar, molasses, cotton, tar, pitch, large amount of pitch-pine lumber rosin and turpentine, and also spirits of turpentine, for which she receives in return *some corn*, wheat, flower, meat, provisions, poultry, eggs, butter, cheese, shoes, boots, clothing, *lead*, *powder*, cutlery, hardware, furniture, machinery, nails, etc., etc., etc., from the East, North and West. A large amount of the corn,

wheat, and meat provisions, goes South from Kentucky and Missouri, and also from Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. So that the free States receive more from the slave States than the latter from the former. A large amount of the wool and beef is grown in the South, or in the slave States. The South exported in the year 1859 only \$196,935 worth of brown sugar, when her product in the year 1859 was about \$40,000,000. Much of this went North and West. Her cotton then amounted to more than \$200,000,000, while she exported only \$161,434,923 worth. Near \$40,000,000 worth was consumed in the United States, and the most of it went North. By this mode of comparing, we see the value we are to each other, and the necessity of putting down Abolitionism first, and then Secessionism will fall of itself; it will have no combatant; and this is nothing but a common sense view to take of our relative positions, North and South. If the South have consumed many European goods, the exports of the South paid in the year 1859 two-thirds of our imports. For the total imports in that year, 1859, were \$338,768,138, and of this amount \$20,895,077, were re-exported. Our exports that year amounted totally to \$335,894,130; and out of this amount, total of exports, the South exported more than two-thirds, which, in the form of bills of exchange, paid for two-thirds of the imports, upon which is based a revenue to support the Government. Consequently the South, in the way of her exports, paid that year, and has, for more than half a century, two-thirds of the expenses of the Government, besides paying two-

thirds of the public debt. For the public revenue is almost wholly derived from the duties on imports, which, in point of those paying the highest duties, are consumed, in the slave States, by two to one, compared with the free States. This information has been obtained from candid business merchants engaged in importing in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans and Galveston. Such information cannot be obtained from the United States' Custom-houses; it has been obtained through intelligent wholesale merchants, who knew *well* where their best customers *resided*, and those who purchased those goods which consumed the least space. This shows who foot the bills in foreign lands, and pay the duties at home, the North or the South! and who is a dead expense to the Government, with regard to postal functions! The revenue from the sale of public lands has always been a mere nominal sum in the way of defraying the expenses of the Government, compared to the duties on imports. This, sensible men know, but Abolitionists do not! and if they did, they would say that the opposite party had made false entries. They know how to lie, which is the only redeemable trait they possess in a high degree.

From that statement, it is not difficult to see who are the great producers, and which are the great staples; and moreover, the South has the capacity, when developed, of feeding and clothing herself from her own productions, having in view Texas for sheep and cattle. This is submitted to the candid, and logical minds for consideration. This may make the

North and West stare, but they know not the South, nor will they, in this respect, till they feel the ills by fatal experience. If a joint stock company, like the citizens of the United States, in the year 1859, should export over the sum of \$335,000,000 worth of products, and a portion of this Company should live north of an imaginary line, and the other portion south; and if it was discovered that the portion south exported two thirds or more, of the whole amount; and it took all the exports to pay for the imports; then, out of whom, by enlightened reason in making deductions, do two-thirds' payments for imports come? The Northern importing merchants have been, nothing more nor less, than factors of the slave States, through whom bills of exchange passed to pay for imports, which they themselves have used in the South. *They* are merely commercial agents, and two-thirds of their backing come from the slave States; otherwise, how could these imports be paid for? The South has always been prodigal of her vast treasures, in purchasing merchandise of the best and most costly quality in general, in contradistinction to the North, and has usually purchased largely on credit, as she expends in some form what she makes.

The Mexican States which we have just mentioned combine the temperate and torrid zones; and more the temperate, from the altitude, than the latitude. Nature has given these countries mountains, towering many thousand feet into the air, which seem to divide the clouds, and serve as electrical rods to induce gentle showers to pour upon the fertile earth;

it has formed them, with all that varied altitude and climate, contributing to the health, comfort, happiness, and luxuries of man ; it has lavished upon them all the grains, plants, vegetables and fruits, required to sustain his real or pampered wants ; it has conceived within the inner depths of their mountains all the precious minerals, as well as useful, yet discovered for his exchange and use ; and finally, it has united in their volcanic throes and eruptions, and contributions, a soil ever quick, and ready to receive the impress of his labor ! Here, on which side soever we turn, we behold the works of an All-Wise Providence, displayed in full utility, grandeur and magnificence !

It may not be amiss to contemplate somewhat of the botany of the regions alluded to, so far as it may be rendered useful and needful, to sustain the position we have assumed in this dissertation. This view is extended to the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America. Corn or maize is indigenous to Mexico, and was extensively cultivated by the Toltecs and Aztecs of Anahuac, and the stalks were so sweet, that these primitive people made their sweetings of them. These stalks are much sweeter by irrigation. Cotton was known to the ancient commonwealth of Anahuac, and to tropical America, long before the discovery. The fecundity of nature within the tropics of America, delights and is joyous in her manifold and useful productions, either natural or exotic.

In the elevated regions of tropical America, the staple productions of the temperate zones abound,

and attain that perfection and amplitude rarely approximated in the northern or middle portion of the United States or in Europe. The cereals are grown under the influence of irrigation, and consequently, in form and size, they are fully developed.

Among the most important productions to sustain life within the tropics, we have not only beheld the fruits of the temperate zones, on the table lands, but on a level with the sea, and up to an elevation of three thousand feet, it has been within our province to admire, with exceeding pleasure, to see in full beauty, and taste, the products of the bread-fruit plantain, banana, cacao, cocoanut palm, date palm, jatrophia manihot, sugar cane, potato, both sweet and Irish, chirimoya, and fig, trees and plants, which rear their graceful heads, with deep green, oblong, and varied shaped leaves, and which are laden with a golden harvest!

These which have come under review, with others like the orange, lemon, lime, citron, mango, guava, vanilla, grape, mulberry, olive, pomegranate, mangostan, durion, mammee, aligator pear, or *agua cata*, mammee sapota, starapple, tea, and coffee, furnish not only the real substance of life, but those luxuries which wealth is ever desirous of courting, to stay and pamper her appetite with.

Many of these trees and plants, for their beauty and fragrance, would seemingly enchain man to the spot, to contemplate the beauties of nature and the wisdom of Providence; for they contain all the elements to promote and sustain life, and the most capacious appetite. Still further do we admire the value,

the adaptation, and growth of trees and plants within tropical America.

The mangrove, boobob or banian, dragon, pandanus, snake-wood, tallow, piney, cinnamon, camphor, clove, pepper, allspice, ginger, nutmeg, brazil, logwood, indigo, woad, safflower, fustic, weld, arnatto, turmeric, sumach, henna, Peruvian bark, opium, scammony, nuxvomica, gentian, centaury, camomile, moxa, wormwood, May-wort, hyssop, rue, balm, ginseng, sweet-flag, white canella, tormentil, arbutus, catechu, mezereon, arum, scurvy-grass, assafoetida, anime, fenugreek, valerian, sassafras, sarsaparilla, guaiacum, snake-root, rose, aloe, jalop, colocynth, senna, castor-oil, purging-cassia, rhubarb, gamboge, ipecacuan, squil, benzoin, night-shade, mandrake, woody-night-shade, thorn-apple, fox-glove, wolfe's bane, gum-arabic, gum olibanum, gum tragacanth, gum-mastic, cretan cistus, balsam of gilead, elemi, mastic, turpentine, balsam of olu, copaiva, Peru-balsam, opopanax, galbanum, genipap, chato-bejuco, and Indian rubber, or caoutchouc, trees and plants,—all abound in tropical America, and the soil and climate are well adapted to their growth, either on the low or table lands.

In the trees and plants which we have just enumerated and which are only a small list of what exists hidden in the recess of nature, as yet, not deciphered, we behold abundant food for man, with all else to aid him in his secondary wants. Here, we have beheld a plant whose medicinal properties can dissolve the gravel, so painful to man. This is well known to

the Indians, and abounds on the Rio Grande, and in most parts of Mexico.

The enormous yield of plantains and bananas per acre within the tropics, is far beyond the conception of one unacquainted with the productions of these regions. They may be set five feet apart each way, and each stalk made to produce one stem, averaging sixty pounds. Admitting that twenty-five pounds of these fruits are equal to one pound of wheat flour, we then should have nutriment to sustain life to the amount of four thousand pounds per acre, more than three times that of wheat, which does not average twenty bushels per acre. * However, we are under the impression that ten pounds of them to sustain life, would be fully equal to one pound of wheat flour, and that *negroes* would prefer them to the latter.

When taken from the plants fully ripe, they contain far more of life's aliment than they do, as generally imported into the United States; for these ingredients, *flour* and *sugar* enter largely into their composition in their natural climate, and when fully ripe.

These plants ripen their fruit every ten months, and when the parent stem shall have ripened its fruit, it may be cut down, letting it decompose around the roots of a young shoot, half grown up by its side. Thus a rotation of crops may be continued on, without end.

The bread-fruit tree is vastly more productive per acre than the plantain and banana, from two and three to one. The kind which is grown without seeds, but from the roots sending up young shoots, is most generally cultivated; the fruit is near ten

* The yield of one acre of plantains or bananas, under an intelligent culture, would be equal to two hundred and fifty bushels of wheat, in the way of supporting life.

inches long and six broad. The rind is thick; but when the fruit is baked within its rind, this is peeled off, and a beautiful loaf of bread is presented for repast. It possesses a large amount of farina and sugar.

The *jatropha janipha* and *manihot*, or the sweet and bitter cassava, is extensively cultivated within the tropics for the purposes of bread. The cuttings from the mother plants are annually set out, and the roots attain their full maturity in one year. The cassava and tapioca of the markets are made from the roots of the *Jatropha*. The roots in their natural state, possess a fluid, which is a most *deadly poison* to man and animals. The plants are set two by one foot apart and cultivated like beets. When ripe, the roots are from fifteen to twenty inches long, and five or six inches thick at the middle. They are as heavy as beets.

When first dug out of the ground, they are washed clean, and after the rind is peeled off, the roots are grated or ground, and then put into a press, in order to force out the juice to the fullest extent that pressure is capable of—the residue is called cassava flour, and the substance which settles at the bottom of the expressed juice, is called tapioca. These are exposed to, and dried, in the sun. In point of production to animate and sustain life, one acre of *Jatropha* is equal to *ten acres of wheat*.

The alligator pear, or the Mexican *agua cata* is another effort of nature to yield man butter or a vegetable marrow, which is eaten with pepper, salt, and bread. It is far more delicate in flavor than the

best Goshen butter. The pulp is on the outside of the kernel; the skin is thin, and of the best kind, green when ripe. The fruit attains the size of the Bartlett pear, and is somewhat egg-shaped. The pulp is yellow, rather firm, and melting; the fruit is healthy for man, and he eats it with avidity. The trees frequently attain the size of large pear and apple trees; the leaves are oblong, green and glossy on the upper surface, and perenniel. They are fine bearers, and produce oftentimes twenty bushels per tree, and one hundred of these life-sustaining trees could be planted on an acre. They are grown from the kernal. The fruit is worth three dollars per bushel when grown. The mangostan and durion are exotics; however, seeds of these fruits have been imported into the tropics of Mexico, and on a level with the sea, they are found to flourish. The *former* resembles rather a pomegranate externally, but is thicker and softer. The flavor of the fruit is like that of the finest grape and strawberry mixed, or that of the pine apple and peach. While the *latter* bears a resemblance to the bread-fruit. The pulp of this fruit is of the consistence of cream, of a milk-white color, highly nutritious, and blending the flavor and qualities of animal marrow with the cool acidity of a vegetable. Its flavor is peculiar to itself, and can not be imitated easily. The fruit is as large as a man's head, and the tree resembles a pear tree, though the leaves—those of a cherry.

There are many species of the custard-apple enumerated, and the best of these is the *Anona squa-*

mosa, which grows on a small tree; the fruit is near the size of an artichoke, scaly, and of a greenish yellow color. The pulp is perfectly delicious, having the odor of rose water, and tasting like clotted cream, mixed with sugar. The fruit is propagated from seeds. The sweet potato is better in the tropics than that grown north or south of them.

The Maguey or Agave Americana is another of the bounties of nature, mostly abounding in the tropics, that demands, in this enumeration, our casual notice. As we observed in our previous remarks with reference to it, there are few plants which unite in their constituent parts so many useful and necessary properties for man. It nurtures him in food and drink, medicine, clothing, and fencing. In review, these plants and trees which produce the fruits just enumerated, namely: the plantain, banana, bread fruit, jatrophia, alligator pear or agua-cata, mangostan, durion, cacao, anona squamosa or custard apple, and the Maguey or Agave Americana, and cocoa tree, may properly be called the nobility of the forest, that spread their luscious pulps and products before man, to nurture and clothe him within the tropics of America. The term nobility is applied to these plants and trees, because they are few; their leaves are generally long and broad, glossy, and deep green, with trunks usually erect and beautiful.

We must not omit to mention the cacao tree, which bears the chocolate bean, so much in use for a nutritious beverage. The tree reminds one of a May-duke cherry tree, both in size and shape, when

coming into bearing, only that it frequently divides near the ground into four or five stems. The leaves are about four inches long, smooth, but not glossy, and of a dull green color. The flowers or blossoms are saffron colored, and very beautiful. The fruit of the cacao tree somewhat resembles a cucumber in shape, but it is furrowed deeper on the sides. Its color, while growing, is green, but when it ripens, this changes to a fine bluish-red, almost purple, with pink veins, or in some of the varieties, to a delicate yellow or lemon color. Each of the pods contains from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, which, in shape, are not much unlike almonds, and consist of a white, sweet, pulpy substance, enveloped in a parchment-like shell. As soon as the fruit is ripe, it is gathered and cut into slices; and the nuts, at this time, being in a pulpy state, are taken out and laid on skins or leaves to be dried. They now have a sweetish-acid taste, and may be eaten like other fruit. When dry, the nuts are put up in bags or sacks for market. This tree commonly grows fifteen or twenty feet high, and when grown singly, it does not branch out so much as other fruit-bearing trees; and four hundred of them can be grown to the acre, which, in tropical America, would remunerate the planter at least fifty cents per tree, and one operative can tend six acres of them, besides growing bananas enough for subsistence. In our enumeration of the useful products of the vegetable kingdom we will not omit the coffee tree, which is usually not grown over eight feet high, for the convenience of gathering the berries. It is an evergreen, slender, and at the upper

part, dividing into small trailing branches. The bark is almost smooth, and of a brown color. The leaves are elliptical, smooth, entire, pointed, waved, three to four inches long, and placed opposite on short foot-stalks. The tree begins to bear when it is two years old, and in the third year it is in full bearing. The product of a good tree per year is two pounds, and one thousand coffee trees can be grown to the acre. Often have we seen a coffee plantation in inflorescence, which is so regular and uniform, that, of a single night, the blossoms seem to burst forth from their prison cells and gladden the planter, in the return of morning, with fresh hope, and with a sight of snowy whiteness unsurpassed, and with a fragrance vieing with the richest of India's fumes. Such enraptured delight we witness only in the tropics. The date palm is a majestic tree, with a trunk ascending sixty feet without a limb or a leaf, and as straight as if plumbd by a master workman, and crowned at its summit by a tuft of very long pendent leaves, which are ten feet long, composed of alternate follicles, folded longitudinally. The male and female flowers, or blossoms, are on different trees. The fruit is disposed in ten or twelve very long pendant bunches. The palm is reproduced by planting the axil of the leaves in the earth, which is the most approved method, as female plants may be selected, while a few males scattered here and there are quite sufficient. In this manner the date palm will produce in six or seven years; and when the male plant is in bloom, the pollen is collected and scattered over the female flowers. Each female tree will produce per year

about twelve bunches of dates; and when ripe, they are gathered and hung up in a dry place until they are sufficiently dry to admit of being packed for market. The best of the date fruit have a firm flesh, of a yellowish color. The product per tree is usually worth from two to three dollars per year, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty can be grown on an acre. It is said that this kind of palm lives from one hundred to three hundred years old, and generally are good bearers. In case of planting one hundred to the acre, sugar cane, coffee, or cotton can be grown advantageously under them, within the tropics; for they serve as a screen to such small growths, to shelter them from the scorching influence of the sun.

The cocoa-nut tree will also bear to be mentioned among the trees and plants, which we have just enumerated, to serve in sustaining man within the limits of tropical America. The nut, when partly ripe, is delicious to eat, when made into a pudding with eggs, sugar, milk, and the flour of the *jatropha*, or that of the arrow root. It also affords, at this time of its growth, a delicate and cooling beverage. Sago or *fecula* is obtained from the inside of the palm. To almost every purpose of man under a high civilization, either the nut, the roots, or the trunk of the cocoa-nut tree, is applied in foreign countries; and they could as well be so applied within equatorial America. They can be grown advantageously on a plantation where sugar-cane, cotton, plantain, banana, coffee, or allspice is grown; and the growth of them among these staples would not diminish the

products of either, but rather increase them, as the former tend to screen the tender plants from the scorching sun. One hundred of them can be grown on an acre, and each tree usually produces one hundred nuts worth in their native land two dollars, making two hundred dollars per acre, besides the *other products grown under them*.

Such is the growth of the tropics of America on the low lands, and such their luxuriance in every sense, and such their grandeur, that the stomach nor the eye demand rest, but long, and gaze on, with *enraptured delight!* Here, within these happy and verdant equatorial bounds, where cold seldom creeps in, and fire is needed not, except for cooking, but where food and clothing can be produced with so little labor, more than three hundred human beings can be supported on a square mile, in ease and comfort. In our previous remarks we have alluded to the capacities of the Mexican States, as Lower California has an area of 60,662 square miles; Sonora, 123,467; Sinaloa, 33,721; Durango, 48,489; Zacatecas, 30,509; Chihuahua, 97,015; Coahuila, 56,571; Nuevo Leon, 16,688; San Louis Potosi, 29,486; and Tamaulipas, 30,335, respectively. These Mexican States are the more temperate portion of the Republic; however, the high altitudes of the other Mexican States possess a climate noted for their promotion of animal health and vigor. These States possess vast fertile fields yet unbarred to the agricultural skill of man. Vera Cruz has a surface of 27,595 square miles; Tobasco has 15,609; Chiapas has 18,680; Oajaca has 31,823; Yucatan has 52,947; Quere-

taro has 2,445; Puebla has 13,043; Michoacan has 22,993; Mexico, 19,535; Jalisco has 48,590; Guerrero has 32,003; Guanajuato has 12,616; the Federal District has 90; Colima has 3,020; and Tlaxcala has 1,984. The whole number of square miles in Mexico is 829,916, the population is 7,661,520, and with an average of 9 23-100ths to the square mile, while the more *tropical States* just mentioned have a surface of 303,875 square miles, with the ability of supporting more than three hundred to the square mile, especially on the low lands up to an elevation of full five thousand feet, which would include three-fourths of the surface of the above States.

The Central American States extend in surface to the amount of 200,000 square miles, in the following order, namely: Costa Rica has 16,000 square miles; Mosquitia has 23,000; San Salvador has 13,000; Nicaragua has 48,000; Gautemala has 28,000; and Honduras has 72,000. The population is about 2,034,000, with a fraction over 10 to the square mile. The capacity of these States fully developed, with their natural luxuriance, fecundity and climate, would readily support four hundred of the human family to the square mile, having the ability to grow every product to supply the wants of man, with ample water powers for manufacturing. Here the very air is *fumed* with the incense arising from bursting blossoms, while perennial bloom and verdure deck the fields and forests, on which side soever we turn, to admire the lovely and enchanting scene!

The South American States, which we previously alluded to, aside from Brazil, as being well adapted,

by their varied climates or temperatures, and their remarkable fertility and exuberance, to *slave labor*, may attract our attention, as follow, to-wit: New Grenada has an area of 521,948 square miles: Venezuela has 426,712; British Guiana has 96,000; Dutch Guiana has 59,765; French Guiana has 27,560; Ecuador has 287,638; Peru has 498,726; Bolivia has 473,298; and Chili has 249,952. The whole area of these States does not exceed 2,647,609 square miles, with a population of near *three* to the square mile, and with surface enough for more than fifty States of the size of the State of New York, allowing 50,000 square miles to the State, and with the capacity to sustain fully two hundred to the square mile. For in the low lands, *agriculture* and *commerce* can be pursued to any extent desired; and on the table lands, agriculture and manufacturing, as the mountain streams afford ample facilities for the latter. In this connection, and with our laudable spirit of progression South and Southwest with *slave labor*, and letting the Northern *slave States* become *free States*, when time shall have been given to the slaveholders to send their slaves South, we will not omit to mention the vast field near at hand, and awaiting us in the West India Islands.

The area of the Dominican Republic embraces 17,609 square miles, its population is 136,500, and number to the square mile 7 75-100ths.

The French Islands embrace an area of 631 square miles, their population is 154,975, and number to the square mile 245 6-10ths.

The Dutch Islands have an area of 369 square

miles, their population is 28,497, and number to the square mile is 77 2-10ths.

The Swedish West India Island is St. Bartholomew, and has an area of 25 square miles, a population of near 9,000, and 360 to the square mile.

The Danish Islands have an area of 127 square miles, a population of 39,628, and 312 to the square mile.

The Spanish Islands embrace an area of 51,143 square miles, a population of 1,446,974, and 28½ to the square mile.

The British Islands have an area of 15,663 square miles, a population of 835,944, and 53 3-10ths to the square mile.

The whole area of the West Indies extends to no more than 150,000 square miles, and the population to 3,500,000, and 23 3-10ths to the square mile. Admitting that these islands could all support a population like the Swedish island St. Bartholomew, they would possess a population of 44,000,000 of souls, or *existences*; and if each one should produce the sum of \$20 annually, the aggregate would reach the sum of \$880,000,000 per year; we mean besides their support, yet let it drop down to \$5 each, and the sum would be \$222,000,000 per year. This would be the aggregate increase of their wealth per year, which, as a combined whole, would be enormous!

Their tropical and maritime positions make them common centers of attraction, coupled with their volcanic soils, which excite and stimulate luxuriance in growth, too remarkable, in nature and character, to be passed over in silence. Their shores are whit-

ened by sails from most every land, and their marts resound with voices as unhomogenous as have been heard since the building of the tower of Babel.

Peopled by Americans as they *must* be, and *cultivated* by *slave labor* to their *utmost capacity* as they *will* be, what position in the *agricultural and commercial* world, could they not *attain* in their *progress*, controlled by *Americans* !

When the forests and swamps of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, are cleared, and thoroughly drained, so that this region, from the labor of the negro, inured to the malaria arising from the decomposition of trees and decaying vegetation, when first broken up, in this hot climate, shall be fully reclaimed, and rendered comparatively a garden in every section: the negroes of these States, by *gradual progression*, as we shall acquire further possessions in Mexico, for instance—the States of Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Chiapas, Oajaca, Puebla, Mexico, Queretaro, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Michoacan, Colima, and Guadalajara, with Central America and the West Indies, *must be transferred* thither to open and reclaim the forests and swamps of tropical America, letting the States in the rear become *free States*, and thus *reciprocate* the North for her effort in connection with the South, towards the acquisition of new regions, transcending in fertility those lands from which the negroes shall have emigrated.

The tropics of America in point of climate, fertility and productions, are the *home* and *field* for the negroes; their peculiar texture, organization, natural

servile *submission* to a superior, and their color, which stamps on them the purposes for which they were created and are used, or else they would have been white, combine to prove that they were created to be *hewers* of wood and *drawers* of waters, and to serve as *pioneers* in the progress of agriculture, directed by the *foresight* and *discretion* of the *whites*. The climate of these States varies, yet not so extremely as further north in the United States. The nights in Mexico are invariably cool, and especially above two thousand feet of altitude.

Mexico is divided into three climates—the torrid, which embraces the sea-board and up to an elevation of two thousand feet, and in this abounds vegetation in all its grandeur and magnificence, where the heat during the day is intense, however, with comparative cool nights: the temperate, which embraces the region between the elevation of two thousand, and five thousand feet above the sea, where perpetual spring reigns, and the variation during the year, in point of climate, that is, heat and cold, is only eight or nine degrees; and in this region vegetation is perpetual, from the influence of the fogs, which often prevail: and the frigid, which embraces the whole region above the elevation of five thousand feet; though, more commonly the winters are as mild here as at Naples in Italy, where, in the coldest season, the medium heat of the day is from 55° to 58° F.; and in the summer, the thermometer in the shade does not rise above 76° F. Whereas, in the torrid and temperate regions of Mexico, the mean annual temperature would not exceed 82° of Fahrenheit's

thermometer. Hence arises the *equality* of the seasons, which are two: rainy, which begins in June and continues four months; and the dry which begins in October, and lasts till June following. Consequently during a great portion of the year, it is necessary to depend on irrigation, which creates a succession of crops below the elevation of five thousand feet.

From this circumstance, we have seen produced, in these favored regions, three crops of corn per year, with a good yield each time; and beans also, which are, in Mexico, a staple article of food for all classes, once and even twice per day. Though the city of Mexico is situated in the frigid zone of the Republic; yet it possesses a most temperate climate, from the fact of its being surrounded by high elevations or ridges of a circuitous mountain. Though the thermometer seldom falls below the freezing point, yet in the coldest season, the mean temperature of the day varies from 55° to 70° F., while in the summer the thermometer, in the shade, seldom rises to 75° F.; and the annual mean temperature is 65° , being nearly equal to that of Rome. From these facts which bear the same relation to Central and South America, with the West Indies, above the region of two thousand feet from the Ocean up, we can see the land adapted to rear genius and the directing *will*; while we see lands adapted to the physical endurance of the negroes, below that region.

In the cultivation of these rich and congenial lands, no products known to man need want a climate, and soil, and *hands* to test their virtues and values,

when slave labor shall be fully introduced there, as God ordained in the beginning.

All the spices, luscious fruits, and valuable medicines of India can here be cultivated by *well disciplined labor*, and their annual products made certain, by the most ample means of irrigation, which, through the *genius* of Americans, could be readily brought into use. That the destiny of Americans is to occupy equatorial America with slave labor, by which we mean the present negro labor and its sequence, no mind can reasonably *doubt*, except such a mind as is *contracted* and *distorted* in its endeavor to arrive at just and reasonable *conclusions*, taking in view the *order of nature*.

No one, not the most fanatic Abolitionist, doubts when he sees two and two added together, make four, not three; nor can he question the existence of the earth on which he treads, nor but that it is made with a *design* to be cultivated, which is coupled with that of his hunger. When he sees the return of labor, his mouth waters, his eye glistens, and his stomach yearns for the golden *morsel*! There is *design* in *all this*. The Creator intended that the earth should be *cultivated* with its most choice seeds, in order, and according to system, (though first dropped promiscuously) for the special benefit of that race who are created after the image of Him, with the power of penetration and forecast, which so much distinguishes man from the existences of colors, in all that is grand and noble! That equatorial America is not cultivated to one-hundredth part of its present capacity one can be easily convinced by reverting to

its remarkable fecundity, as remarked before this, and to its population to the square mile. Is this *vast field* to lie eternally a waste, a solitary wilderness, with a patch of ground cultivated here and there, to foster *nothing more than mere animal instinct*? And is the African race to be the mere tell-tale drones, the *embodiments* of *slothfulness*, of *debauchery* and *anarchy*, to live and drag out a poor miserable existence, without being *forced* as they now are in Brazil, Cuba and the United States, to act *their part*, that *useful* and *servile* part, upon which *genius erects* the hope, yea, the *basis* of its aspirations?

For a State to be prosperous and happy, there must be in it one *ruling race*, all of *one complexion*, and of a peculiar texture to itself; otherwise, jealous distinctions arise into civil war, which shake the pillars of State, and topple them to earth! Such would be the case in the United States were the relations of master and slave severed; for a desire to predominate, and making it a war of races to the extermination of the weaker, would most inevitably prevail, with all that bitterness which characterizes the different races, now so marked and separated by colors. Place this subordinate caste in the light of freemen, whom God never created to be free, and we should do more for them than our Creator intended to have done for them, as recorded in the first chapter of Genesis!

We could, therefore, never exist together as equals in peace; hence, either war must eternally continue in such an event, or the subordinate caste, in the scale of progress, must *succumb*, and be the *drudges*

to those, whose image and likeness were made after their Creator, and to whom *He* gave DOMINION over all the earth and every living creature, and all else, whether inanimate or animate! Behold the war of *colors* already begun in Cincinnati, Chicago, New Albany, and at Panama, and in fact throughout Mexico, Central and South America, except Brazil! We see its unquestionable manifestations on which side soever we turn our eyes for peace and prosperity; and hence, we must unequivocally conclude that *existences* of *colors* must subserve the purpose of pioneer labor, and consequently, be controlled by superior genius! Experiments with reference to educating the progressive colored existences, in order to elevate them in the scale of progress, have proved, with few exceptions, from time immemorial, of no importance to them, and more especially to the negro; for the second generation, from those well schooled, has fallen back to barbarism, with scarcely any exceptions, to impress their importance upon the historian's page.

To a great extent this has been tried in the British West Indies, but apparently, as yet, without any degree of eminent success. This seems to have been the experience of travelers in the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, and especially of Anthony Trollope, an English traveler, with a view to examine and report the condition of the freed negroes in these several regions. Taking Jamaica as an example, with reference to this consideration, Mr. Trollope says in his narrative, that his visit to this island was in the year 1859, and that, at least, one-

half of the country, compared to it before emancipation in the year 1838, was then returning to a primitive state, covered with briars and thorns. This is the substance of his observations, and it is the experience of other travelers, with our own, in the regions above mentioned. With such facts with reference to the effects of Abolitionists and Emancipationists, fully presented to our consideration in the United States, should we wish to imitate the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, in severing the bonds that hold together, as sacredly as we have proved, the relations of master and slave, and taste the bitter fruit which these prolific countries are experiencing? Let common sense answer!

If these people had the spur of progress, civilization and enlightenment, *imbued* in them as an *organic law* of their natures, and as the ancient Greeks and Romans had when they were in a primitive state, the light and knowledge of *one single individual* would spread like the flame on the prairie, though with an unceasing *burning* after knowledge. The African negro has not this spur, nor is he excited to any acts for distinguishment, except to eat, sleep, and be let alone in this brute-like state. These are his characteristics, and they are undeniable, for they stand in full view of those who will see facts, as they should come home to the most common understanding, in the picture of life, on each day's report. It is said that Cadmus introduced letters into Greece from Egypt, which would imply that the Greeks were then without letters, and were till this time savages, compared with civilization at the present time. He

was a white man. He did not deteriorate by living among savages, and become a savage with those around him, as *existences* do, when educated, and on returning to the land of their nativity.

These existences learn comparatively nothing by experience in addition to what their fathers hand down to them. They are content with the implements, the mode of living, and the huts of their fathers. It is unnatural for them to aspire for high positions in the scale of progress, which they see exemplified around them in the whites, with that degree of *persistence* and *design* which overcome every obstacle. Like the lower classes of animals, they are most generally satisfied when hunger and cold cease to excite them to action; wherefore like them in mind, they have no mental aspirations; they are as God created them, implements formed in the *organic law*, to aid that Superior Intelligence to advance in the scale of being, from one generation to another, based upon what the former has handed down! Where, through the influence of presumed philanthropists, we see the *organic law* of God abnegated, with reference to putting politically these *progressive existences* of colors, on an equality with the whites, we have seen nothing but debasement and the war of races ensue!

Wherever we extend our vision, we behold these facts. Behold again the quiet of New Albany, of Peoria, of Chicago, of Cincinnati, and portions of Pennsylvania, of all the West Indies except Cuba and Porto Rico, of Mexico, of Central and South America, except Brazil, disturbed by the *popular en-*

deavor to counteract the will, the purpose, and the command of God, in placing these existences of colors out of the sphere they were created to fill by the organization of matter. We might as well argue in favor of freedom for all animals that do not exercise reason, as for this higher class of progressive existence, whose reason end with the satisfaction of hunger, sleep and sensuality! This class is the intermediate link between man and the lower order of the brute creation, formed by the organization of matter in the beginning, to fill a fixed design, as much as any of the cereals were to satisfy hunger; or in his creation there would have been chance work. We should see it, in such an event, in every atom of matter, whether inanimate or animate we might survey, if such a design was not manifest. Therefore, we can not admit that there is chance work in the creation; hence we must conclude that every thing in the form of animated matter emanated by a special design of God; and consequently, there can be no unity in the races of beings, as coming from one common parentage, but we trace distinct gradations, which, in their very countenances, expose their classes, and as adapted to generate their own species.

Lo! and behold these facts, that is, the war of races, illustrated by the examples of our near neighbors, in Mexico, Central and South America, who struck for too much freedom, in casting from themselves the thralldom of Spain. Their negroes and the Indians were placed politically on an equality with them, the whites, respecting the exercise of the elective franchise. This elevated the former in State

rights, but the latter it degraded, and placed them, with their *long line* of *ancestral worth* and knowledge, on a par as to the right of suffrage, with the *merest animal instincts*, *ever ready for any use* which might be *designed* for them, by the *artful* and *depraved*.

If the four millions of slaves in the United States were freed, what would be the consequences in the States setting them free? but such as we *all* know to have been the *results* to our near neighbors in the *South West*. Shall the white man, North and South be *taxed* to send the negroes out of the United States, to colonize and support them for a time, *he* who has never owned one, or he who has owned hundreds?

In accordance with the order of creation—the organic law of God, and with the constitution of the United States, we have proved slavery to be a Divine Institution, and a conventional concession, being a part and parcel of said order and constitution; and hence, to contemplate the emancipation of the four millions of blacks in the United States, would be to clearly act against the Divinity and the Constitution, which act by man, can never succeed; though it has the eloquence of powerful minds to urge it on, still they are urging themselves and their aiders and abettors to poverty, disgrace and destruction! The minds of such men should keep the picture of countries before them, where the emancipation of the blacks has been effected for years; and what is it but horror and gloomy despair, against which human nature, in her purity of purpose, and with a hope of progress, would revolt, and turn human will to higher and nobler objects!

Such minds are selfish, and reason no more than the lower classes of animals; otherwise they would see the Divine and Conventional impediments, which will eternally arrest their progress, and cut short their career! This emancipation would impoverish the whites without rendering them any *thing* in return, which no *rational, clear-sighted mind* would submit to, *except under protest*, ever ready to *test this right by the sword!* Therefore, they *can* not be freed and sent away, or left at home free; hence, they *must* labor, and this labor, with all its consequences, both for good and for evil, must be *progressive*; it can not stand still, and gaze on surrounding objects without *participation* in them. The whole commercial exchange depends, for its welfare and stability, on the American institution of slavery, and its *progressive tendencies*, to keep pace with the demand for cotton and other southern staples and luxuries; for in the growth of this, the labor *must* be fixed, regular, and what is intended to be *through* the year; or otherwise, lo! what consequences do we not now behold in England, France, and many other States in Europe, owing to the American civil war! And what would be these consequences if this war should continue for years in the form of lawless bands as in Mexico, South America, and Italy, when the present supplies of cotton shall be almost wholly exhausted in the United States and in Europe, and the clothing and bedding, which have been made out of them, shall be worn out? These are consequences to be seriously considered by those who *eat in order to live, not live in order to eat!* The Abolitionists contend that supplies of cotton

can be got from other countries, under the auspices of free labor! Coupled with this view how little have they studied *African character* on a *large scale* when it is connected with planting the Southern staples. We have seen, in foreign lands, men of capital, be at the expense of planting hundreds of acres of cotton and sugar-cane, with free labor, and of getting machinery and buildings, commensurate for rendering these to profit; but alas! when the crops are ready to be gathered, the free laborers demand such exorbitant wages, that the capitalists sink into poverty, if they persist with free labor, in tropical countries or those near them.

However, this is not the case in countries or States where the cereals are exclusively cultivated, for here machinery is brought into requisition, doing away with more than one-half of the labor, formerly required by them. But this can not be the case with reference to gathering cotton and sugar-cane; for they require the *manipulations* of the hand in such form as to render the adjustment of machinery, with a locomotive or horse-power, apparently impossible. Could cotton and sugar-cane be gathered in by machinery, fully one-half of the labor would be saved, besides being able to supply each plantation with the necessaries of life, many of which they now purchase.

As the border *slave States* should become free States, in carrying out the *order of nature*, as indicated by this dissertation, and as the gradual introduction of servile or slave labor shall extend South and Southwest, these States will become free States by dint of

interest to move such labor into new tropical fields, where it will reward the husbandman many fold over what it does here ; in this event, these States will be divided into small farms, and from the swamps having been drained, and the forests having been cleared up, and the malaria from the general decomposition of vegetable matter having passed off, the incoming and resident population will be healthy, as the seeds of disease shall have been removed by the negroes, ever the hardy pioneers in a hot climate.

From the rapid improvements in agricultural implements, this advancing white population can perform, morning and evening, in their march South and Southwest, that labor which is necessary to their individual happiness and prosperity, and which will yield them these requirements with comparative ease; while the master and slave are advancing Southwest to open *new fields*, which now lie *moldering* for want of *mind* and *will* !

This advancing spirit is turning the *order* of nature and the *subordinate* existences of colors, in moving Southwest, to *some account* ; as we see Providence in his watchfulness over us, moisten and warm the earth, giving us light and darkness, which *indicate design*, and which turn his *power* and *will* to *some account* !

If the white man had not been destined what he appears to be, and to have been created after the image of his Creator, why would not the Polynesian, the Mongolian, the Indian, or the negro, have been the *first*, and ever *foremost* in the advancement of civi-

lization and enlightenment? and by this means, *we* should have been *subordinate* in the *scale* of *progress*! Yes, we whites would have been!

By every *indication* of surrounding objects, taking the book of nature as our guide, which is written on every *blade* of grass, and in the *tints* of every rose bursting into *perfection*, emitting its aroma to the mild zephyrs of early spring, the *nations* of the earth are clearly working out that *destiny* which our great Parent destined us to adopt. For he *foresaw* what we would be, or he is not *omniscient*. He, in his infinite goodness and wisdom, pronounced his *work well* done, knowing full well the *order* of *nature* and the character of man; and from this character of man *pre-known* to his Creator, *slavery* has arisen to be the fixed *pioneer* labor, to *subdue* the *tropics* of America, yea, of the whole *earth*! And what Abolition skeptic would say that the order of nature is not *perfect* in her workings? Let him *behold* the *sun*, the *planets*, and *stars*, and the *carpet* of nature, and *answer*!

If the complaint and sense of injustice be laid against slavery, upon a principle of restraint, chastisement, or pecuniary reward, compared with the non-slaveholding States, or with any portion of Europe, Asia, Africa, Polynesia, Mexico, Central and South America, with the West Indies, we have sufficient evidence that the slaves of the Southern States have as much freedom of locomotion as apprentices, or children bound to service, and are treated with as much deference and respect, nine times out of ten. Even we have seen isolated cases in free States where children, both boys and girls, are treated no better

than slaves, and forced to go and come in the same way as slaves, not being allowed any more time to administer to their wants than the most menial slave—one taken in war, as formerly!

If they should desire to visit their neighbors and friends, permission must be obtained first by consulting their parents, who, in this light, rule the household in the same manner as a master his slave; and if it is not granted, but the child should disobey, it is punished, and sometimes inhumanly; however, if it should have been the apprentice instead of the child, one for whom such have no instinctive predilection, how much more severe would have been the frowns, the restraints, and the chastisement, feeling that the law with reference to apprentices gives them this superior assumption of power over the *one who* is legally placed in restraint! And weak human nature in this particular is clearly indicated in the want of deference to remarks and suggestions made by the apprentice, even if they emanate from superior genius. He is looked upon as an inferior, and is treated as a menial, and no better than a slave. Nor is he often *allowed a seat at the same table*, but is *forced* to eat the *leavings* from the board, nor is he allowed the *privilege*, nine times out of ten, of *associating* with the family in any other light, than as a *menial*, or as a *slave*, is permitted to.

Go where you will in the countries previously alluded to, and the most casual observer will see that this *development* of the nature of man will hold good. He is exacting of his fellow-man, of the same *color*;

and oftentimes, the most exacting of those or of him, the *nearest related* by ties of *consanguinity*.

Instances unnumbered might we cite to justify us in these remarks, both in our own and foreign countries, where restraint and cruelty are exercised towards apprentices with as much malevolence or more than we see the master towards the slave; for in him the master has a direct interest in his welfare and contentment. And will a man not prefer his own *interest* to that of others, though near related? Consequently, he will treat his own property in slaves better than he would treat a hired man, for interest appeals to his reason and judgment. This is easily discovered, when a man examines into the nature of his own conscience. If the hired man dies through *his* neglect, *he* will not mourn over his loss as he would over the loss of *one thousand dollars* in a slave. This touches his pocket, and he weeps like one o'er the funeral pile of some *sainted relic*! Few are the negroes in any of the slave States, and especially in the cotton and sugar sections, who do not have the opportunity of making from twenty to one hundred and fifty dollars a year, besides performing the required labor for their masters. This is not an unfrequent occurrence, but there are many instances of this which have come under our own observation, in Louisiana and Texas; and the planters throughout the South, with reference to *encouraging* their negroes to make small *gains* for themselves are not *unlike* those of these *States*. If the negro make even fifty dollars in this manner, besides working for his master the required time more or less, his master houses,

clothes, feeds, and doctors him, and thus he has this sum to purchase such luxuries or clothing as he, the slave, may desire. This has unquestionably the appearance of starvation and cruel treatment to the negro race in the South, could we credit the tales of *wanton Abolitionists*, the hidden and underground *demons* of the nineteenth century! Most astute, sage and God-like men, most worthy of immortal honors! and most worthy of having a heaven and an earth alone for their pure spirits to worship and sing praises in hereafter, and to live in, at present, like *celestial angels, pure and unspotted!*

How many poor men there are in the countries just alluded to, and even in the free States of the United States, who, having families to support, the grocery, clothing and medical bills to pay, and laboring by the month at even twenty-five dollars, can do more than make his account come out even at the close of the year? He lives, and the negro lives, and the prosperity of the white man does not, in nine cases out of ten in the old countries, depend so much on his industry; for in laboring for others, he has to take what he can get. And now comes the *point* at issue between the slave States of America and the *so-called free States* of the *Eastern hemisphere*. In the former we see an inferior race, and which has ever been inferior, with *marks and designs* about such race for distinctive and wise purposes, not made by man, nor by chance, degraded to servile labor like some animals; the African performs this, century after century, with the resignation and patience of an ox. He eats, drinks, sleeps, and works. He sings, dances,

and appears happy in the antics he is able to perform. His reason leads him to no high aspirations; for the opportunities to rise as a race they have never seized, though in their native lands they have ever been flanked by intelligence and a high social civilization! And what are they now any more than they were two, three, and even four thousand years ago? Their country will tell the tale, for it is a tale of degradation, of woe and of sorrow! which is stamped upon benighted Africa, on which side soever we turn, and turn, to find one glimmering ray of light descend from a *heaven*! This is essentially the case of Africans of black origin; the Egyptians are not negroes, nor were they ever. [See "Types of Mankind," by Nott and Gliddon, page 214.] From this evidence, the ruling race there have ever been Caucasian; this has been the condition of all the nations inhabiting the northern portion of Africa. Many of the Moors and other individuals of the Northern nations of Africa, like many of the Americans, English and French, into other countries, have wandered into Central Africa, from time immemorial, carrying with them their arts and sciences; and to a certain extent these arts and sciences have arisen through those, and their half breeds—for it is unnatural to suppose that such *wanderers* would act the part of a Joseph, in a distant land, away from their own country-women, unto the ebony negresses, that stood before them in nature's garb. Hence arise the causes of many improvements which Henry Barth describes in his "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, in the years 1849-1855." When we contem-

plate the sources of these improvements in the form of towns and cities, we can ascribe them to none other than the Caucasian wanderers. At an early period in the settlement of America, and of many of the islands of the Pacific, it has been the custom of the discoverers to carry either all their arts and sciences, or in part, proportioned to the new settlers; if these were few, and wholly men, to a great extent they have adopted the customs and habits of the savages, with some additional comforts, having a slight shade of civilization, peering out here and there to those who might follow their trails. Many old sailors have we seen on the islands in the Pacific inhabiting houses no better than their chieftains, with small patches of ground to cultivate, and dressed in the costumes of the natives. In some of their industrial pursuits, if we may call them such, there is an evident manifestation of superior intellect; yet this is sluggish, and dull here as in Africa; it requires collision against a *flint* of its own class; hence it becomes excited, is fruitful, and manifests design in its being molded in resemblance to its Creator. Man alone, without possessing superior courage and intelligence, when his lot is cast among savages not of his own hue, has obstacles almost insurmountable to overcome, and not unfrequently he adopts, for the sake of ease, the habits of those who surround him, rising by degrees, as he gains power over them, to make them imitate him in new designs to them, which he brought with him from his father-land. By this mode of reasoning, which is natural, we discover how the improvements have been made in

Central Africa; and further, we discover on the high table lands, near the mountains of the Moon, many negro types resembling the Caucasians as to nose, lip, and ear. Hence, we perceive that they are not wholly blacks, in tracing back their genealogy, but mixed with the Caucasian wanderers. Therefore, who would wonder at such improvements as Henry Barth describes, as if he had found the golden egg as to the geniuses of the negroes! O God! wilt thou pour forth thy vials of wrath on those who, under the pretence of piety, would reconstruct thy order of creation! It was beyond thy will to make black white, red blue, oats corn, barley rye, etc., etc., in the process of nature; hence what was, is with thee forever an immutable and organic law. In this is there reason or fanaticism? Oh! ye Abolitionists! ye Skeptics! ye Atheists! ye would be gods! There is a shuddering thought, a lie, blasphemy, falsity of purpose, deceit in action, obduracy, an unmeaning sound, with all the arts of a demon himself, when a white man rises and announces to a white audience that a Mongolian, Indian, Malay, or African, especially as the frenzy runs, is as good, and to be respected like a white man! The test of such a declaration is putting darkies on an equality as citizens and then to receive the males as such in the marriage of white females, and the negresses as such in the marriage of white males. In this we have the test. Is it God's decree? ye atheistical Abolitionists! Ye know the lie is on your lips when ye utter such unorganic, unholy sounds! and ye know that ye have no other purpose to serve than your own ends at the

downfall of others. Such reckless, desperate, unholy men as ye are, and as ye are manifesting yourselves between your sayings and doings, or your declarations and practices as to yourselves, what words, what language, can portray the wickedness of your hearts; The inhabitants or citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah, for iniquity and rebelling in sight of God and man, and for the perversion of God's organic law, were in those days no equal matches to you, in these days of your short, tyrannical, unholy, and un-God-like rule. Compared to you they were saints. Ye know this. The very fountains, the rivers, the lakes, the earth, ye would turn to salt, covered with asphaltum, that ye might touch the torch, rather than ye would let man pursue the arts of peace, in view of God's organic law! What fountains, what rivers, what lakes, what oceans, what regions of earth, have not been palsied with the salted crest which ye leave in your wakes! Behold them; they will stand like pillars of salt over this once happy land, for ages beyond computation yet to come, and tell the tales of Atheistical rule! In the latter countries previously alluded to, on page 402, it is, by the conventional acts of the aristocracy, that place every *human form*, not of their *rank*, beneath them, though of the *same color*! These *principles* pervade all the upper classes in life in those old countries, descending as they do, from the crowned heads, through all the *lines* of nobility, to those who purchase their *rank* and *position* in the nobleman's society! Consequently, laborers are looked upon as *low* and *servile*; they are treated as a degraded *caste* of people *created* for no other purpose than to accu-

mulate wealth and luxuries to pamper the *tastes* of this *privileged class*. This class regulates the valuation of wages, which are put so *low* as to merely supply *some* of the most ordinary necessities of life, in a very stinted manner, or portions. This is a *conventional arrangement* among the *aristocracy* to keep the poor from rising into respectability. Their wages are so low that they cannot depart wherelse to find more remunerative gains, for this requires means to travel and maintain themselves till they can find labor to perform. But this is not all that *work* against the poor man of the old countries; it is necessary for him to take a recommendation from the one in whose employ he was last, and not one in ten of such kind of laborers can either read or write; and his *master*, for so he is *called*, will *word* it so as to make this poor man *feel wholly dependent* on him and the other nobleman, to whom he carries this *recommendation*.

And how are the gates of the rich approached by this laboring class, except in *that cringing and degraded* manner, that *saps* up the very *spirit and essence* of life! If this *man* salutes one of the privileged class, or even a rich man, it is done with *hat off*, to show his most *humble attitude*!

What more does a slave do to show his *submission* to the will of a superior, than this poor *peasant* in the Eastern Hemisphere? who *truckles* and *cajoles* his *Oriental master*, fearing that he might be turned out of his *situation*!

This *custom* is gaining ground in the free States of the United States, and will rapidly increase as

lands and wealth become more *concentrated* in a few, living in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who frequently visit the old countries as *merchants* or *retired gentlemen*. The mania for *imitation* in the United States, is so perfectly *reckless* and *prodigal* of her doings, that it *spreads* wherever there is *wealth*, especially without *slave property*. It is introduced into different sections, by country merchants and retired gentlemen, who readily seize it *to show* that there is a *distinction* in the *forms of society*; though the *new usage* is no better than the *one* to which we have ever been accustomed.

It is not unfrequent to see in those eastern cities, *white servants dressed in livery*, according to the *costumes* of those, *herited* by some *noble peer*, and *trained to usages immemorial*!

In slave States, we are less disposed to adopt new *isms* and new *fashions*, till they have appealed, for their adoption, to our reasons and our judgments. Therefore we see, in these States and countries where slavery exists, a disposition to be let *alone*, granting the same *privileges* to others as they assume for themselves; but *firm* in the endeavor to exercise those *prerogatives* which nature, and reason, and judgment have given them!

Thus we have contrasted the field of labor in Europe and in the free States of the North, with the slave labor of the Southern States, and the only difference with reference to treatment in general, is that free labor goes unpunished for committing omissions, with the exception of apprentices and those bound to serve for a term of years, who are chastised by

the rod. It is the duty of parents to correct their children and make them obedient to an older discretion; and so it is with the master to correct his slave. The relation as to exacting obedience is one and the same thing; yet in the free States we see this *natural right* exercised on apprentices, etc. And if we should condescend to particularize, not unfrequently we should see this same arbitrary *right*, exercised in the free States, over those whom ties should blend harmoniously together! The contrast with reference to the field of labor, so far as it relates to feeling, would be the more favorable to the South; for no old or infirm slave can be turned off, like a servant of free countries, and a *peone* of Mexico, Central, and South America. *Here* wretchedness in the extreme we have seen, among the peones, who had served many years, on estates, but whose masters, when they are infirm or sick, or worn out by age in service on the estates, are not bound to maintain them. The peone system of Mexico among the Indians is more cruel than slavery in any of the slaveholding portions of America, from these facts above mentioned, and because the peone is held to service, so long as he is indebted to his superior, the proprietor of the estate, unless he can get some other proprietors to pay the indebtedness. This descends to his posterity, while the general wages for *peones* throughout Mexico, Central, and South America, except Brazil, are six dollars per month, with two pecks of corn meal per week. All else for living and clothing is purchased of the proprietors of the estate, at such a price as he may please to ask. Wherefore, the peones are always in

debt, and the amount of their wages seems sanctioned by a general usage. The proprietor himself is not unfrequently Alcalde or Justice of the Peace, and hence he has the authority to enforce labor by such punishment as he sees fit to adopt; otherwise, the proprietor of the estate acts with reference to the peones on his estate, under deputised authority from the Alcalde.

In Europe the poor must labor for the rates of wages established in the several countries where it is required, which are barely sufficient for food and clothing, without giving the means to subsist on, to go to new countries, in order to do better. Such poor ones depend on the rich for their locomotion, and are emigrated by such, when a superabundance of labor accumulates in any one section; because, in the winter, this overplus is an expense, and a tax to them for support. Therefore, in Europe, Asia, Africa, Mexico, Central, and South America, the price of labor is put, by a universal usage, at such low rates as to keep the poor poor, and the rich rich; and are not the free States of the North tending to the same point, as based on the influence of wealth? We have seen it in all of its ramifications rising up here and there like the granite rock, *typical* of all that it is worth in *meaning*! In view of all these considerations, which system has the more humanity in it, the free or the slave, when *infirmity*, *sickness*, and *age*, *stare the incumbent in the face*? Let the consistent and knowing ones *answer*! The mission of slavery with reference to the African negroes, as handed down from the 28th verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis, by

God, in *His* organic form of creation, is working out its destiny in the countries where the commands of God are the most respected, (see 28th verse, 1st chapter of Genesis,) and the people are the most actuated with reference to agricultural progress, and to universal development, by *regular* and *fixed labor*, towards tropical America. The march is, onward, and toward the great *prize*, to *subdue* and *plant* the earth, by those physical *means* which an Omnicient God gave to man! And is it not right and beneficent to carry out the terms of creation, and the commands imposed on us by God in this verse, (28th?) In America we have in part carried them out, but how the moralist would ask? Who owned the soil when Columbus came to America? Let the poor Indian answer! Apparent piety has gone hand in hand from one extreme point of the Continent to the other, in *subduing* and taking formal possession of the soil, without asking conscience, the right of questioning it; and it has driven the poor Indians from their ponds, and hunting-grounds, and corn-fields, without remorse, upon the spur of manifest destiny. In this, we see no *civil war*, but the gun and knife of the invaders in one hand, with his other hand on the plow! He is for conquest and manifest destiny! No *petition*, nor no *legislation* is made to bear against this usurpation, not even by the most pious; and in no sense, nor in one case, has there been a just negotiation made with a proper equivalent given, which would have been accepted by nations on an equality with us! For frequently, Penn's purchase is cited as a just one; but he, with his long Quaker face,

cheated the Indians in the measurement of his land, as history often one-sided, tells us. This usurping of the lands of the Indians, and this planting of them in the farther Western wilds, has been fruitful of *no civil strife among the whites*, for the acquisition became common. No monuments have been erected North or South, East or West, to perpetuate the names of those poor Indians, their hunting grounds, and fishing ponds! They are gone to the far West! No *petition* signed by three thousand clergymen of New England has been presented as yet, to Congress, in order to petition it to abolish the obnoxious, inhuman, and wicked laws, which *expatriated* them by thousands; and why? because such petition would produce no *material discord*; but with reference to the negro slave in the District of Columbia, they could manifest all their *pent up piety*; and why? Because it would *sow the seeds of eternal discord* between the *North* and the *South*! Let common sense ask the *amount of piety and feeling* in the petition to Congress, signed by *three thousand clergymen* for the purpose above mentioned? If there had been piety and feeling in this, why not have exercised the same towards the Indians, whose lands their forefathers had *stolen*, or *taken* them by *fraud*. In neither of these cases, there is no true love to either God or man, but it is a *cunning device* to create *civil discord*! This is its price! This is all that it is, or was worth! Miserable Demons! A just God knows you not: Earth will tremble when she receives you back to her *virgin and holy bosom*.

Pro-slavery is as much advantage to the free States as to the slave States; for, if we had peace and a good understanding with each other, both in the North and South, in the East and West, we should have been acquiring more territory of Mexico by this time, or Cuba and Porto Rico; and this act of acquisition would give an impetus to emigrating slaves into such tropical territory, from the States where the labor pays the least; and this emigration is *natural* and *certain*, for it is influenced by the same motives as influence money to seek locations where it will pay the best. Therefore, by the process of time such Northern slave States would become free States, because the increase of negroes in them would not keep pace with the demand for slave labor in the new tropical territories; this progress, for years, would be as rapid as we should acquire territories, till slavery should advance into northern tropical America, between the equator and the tropic of Cancer; especially, so as it shall have performed its civilizing mission north of Cancer, by draining the swamps, felling the forests, and reducing the earth to smiling habitations, exhausted of its malaria arising from the virgin soil and the decomposition of vegetable matter. Such is the fruit of slavery in its mission of progress South and Southwest; and the results from it will be of as much advantage to one section not in possession of the slaves as to the section possessing them. For the lands in the States abandoned by the slaves are drained and cleared up, and generally well fenced, with good buildings. And though they may be somewhat worn, it would be

much cheaper to purchase them at \$10 per acre, with all their improvements, and nearness to markets, even if a fourth of their value had to be invested in manures yearly, to make them productive, than it would be to go to the Far West, away from railroads and markets. This is the natural law of progress and advancement in America, and it invites peace and good will both to God and man, and it civilizes the negro for a future destiny, by being brought in contact with us; and to this, at this day, he owes all his material change and progress, as we have proved beyond refutation. American slavery has a long and a broad field to operate in; for behold the West Indies, typically by going to the southeastern end of Cuba, and there ascend the highest mountain of this island, Sierra de Cobre, which is over ten thousand feet above the sea. Thence cast your eyes over the ever green meadows in valleys, and on mountain sides throughout this island, and the Indies, and think, as we have thought, for what were they made? and what has God given man to tussle with nature in these vast abodes of perpetual verdure! We would say, as we have said, in this tropical climate: we have the living *implements* God made for us, and we will foster their growth and productiveness, or else this fair scene is ever a wilderness waste! This island, with Porto Rico, would be a waste, or returning to its pristine grandeur in growths of wildest form, like their sister islands, were the relation of master and slave severed in them as in the latter. And degeneracy and debasement would ensue as the gratuitous reward of Abolitionism. The

high elevations of the West Indies are healthy, far more so than the most cherished parts of the United States, except the lower part of California on the coast, and Southwestern Texas. There, perennial verdures bloom, and ripening, go hand-in-hand, like joyous maids, with their pampered boors! With *regular* and *fixed labor* in the West Indies, the tide of prosperity would flow to the base of many a mansion in want of their luxurious products; and happy would be the smiles in the reception of them. Cotton, sugar, coffee, and honey, with valuable timbers for buildings and shipping, also dye woods, and the spices, are, and could be made most abundant, by *regular* and *fixed labor*. Coolie labor is another feature for slavery in the West Indies, for the *coolie* never works out his time. His wages are four dollars per month, besides being found food, medicine, clothing and bedding. He is more treacherous and sulky than the negro, and needs watching.

From the West Indies travel with us to the Republic of Mexico, and up from Vera Cruz to the Volcano Popoca-Tepelt, or the Smoking Mountain, in the State of Mexico, which is 17,968 feet above the level of the sea. Thence cast your eyes over the extent of this Republic, and read its past history, written in brother's blood; yes, the *history* of this fair country, and reflect, ere reason has lost its throne! Every American should now visit this *spot*, and reflect, ere the day for sober *reflection* is passed! From this point, behold the vast landscape spread out before you, with its rich agricultural fields, generally well watered by small rivers, rising from springs in

the mountains, and with mineral wealth in untold billions! In none of the States forming the Mexican Republic is the soil found wanting, and though aridity prevails during the dry seasons, yet it is thought by scientific Mexicans, who have studied the conformation and the geological features of their country, that artesian wells can be successfully obtained near the base of the mountains, which would resuscitate and perpetuate verdure throughout most of the plains of Mexico, adding immense wealth, both to agriculture and *mining*. Having traveled much in Mexico, Central and South America, we should, from the physical features of the country, come to the same conclusion with reference to the adaptation of these countries to an artesian well system, which only await a greater destiny, and a *regular* and *fixed labor*. The torrid zone, beginning from the tropic of Cancer on the Gulf of Mexico, would extend inland about fifty miles, and about the same on the Pacific ocean, before we arrive at an elevation which we might *essentially* denominate *temperate*. Above this zone, the country seems to be divided into greater and less plateaus with ridges, and even mountains surrounding them apparently, yet, however, longitudinally, as well as latitudinally, there are narrow defiles with water courses, connecting these beautiful and verdant plateaus together, thus forming the table lands of Mexico, both in the temperate and *frigid* zone. This zone we have mentioned before in point of climate. The country being thus divided into plateaus, as above mentioned, is even temperate in the valley of Toluca, 10,000 feet above the sea, yet

the ridges are cold and arid. As previously observed, the formation is most unique with reference to Mexico, for near the northern boundary of Guatemala the continuous chain of mountains from the Andes northward seems to divide—one arm running up the Pacific coast, while the other stretches along the Gulf of Mexico, leaving measureably the gulf not far above Tampico, thence it lines its course more northwardly, just in the rear of Monterey, and thence unites with its sister arm of the Pacific, in the middle portion of New Mexico. From this conformation of Mexico we are led to contemplate the table lands with their plateaus surrounded by mountain ridges, which are all volcanic, fertile and productive in the greatest abundance. By a *regular and fixed* form of government in Mexico, mind and genius would rise to superior greatness, because they are not checked by *diseases incidental* to the *rapid changes* of the seasons; the thermometer varying in many portions of this table land, not to exceed ten degrees of Fahrenheit in the course of the year. Hence, physical force, robust constitutions, and genius would arise to direct the *slave labor* of the plains below in the *torrid zone*, and penetrate the mountains and deep gorges for the *precious ores*. Though here, under a tropical sun, we arise in the morning to renew again the journey of life, full of vigor and full of purpose, to obtain the prize of laudable ambition, for the nights are invariably cool and invigorating. Not only the precious metals abound in Mexico in her mountain defiles, with the richest imaginable of the vegetable kingdom on her plains; but iron, tin, zinc,

antimony, arsenic, copper and lead, are procured in great abundance in various portions of the Republic, as in Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, Guadalajara, Michoacan and Zacatecas. Therefore, by internal improvements in the form of railroads, no want need go unsupplied from one extreme portion of the Republic to the other; while each part, by a system of irrigation, can be made to produce most abundantly the necessaries and luxuries of life. Thus you see, reader, the capacities of Mexico; but to develop these to any great extent in the *torrid zone*, or even the temperate, it would require *fixed* and *regular labor*, which, in no case, could be *contingent*, with *prosperity abounding*.

Having surveyed Mexico and its adaptation to slave labor, for centuries to come, both in an agricultural and mineral point of view, we will pass into Central America, and ascend the volcano of Guatemala, or commonly called the Water Volcano, in the State of Gautemala, which is more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. From this point, view the States of Central America, to-wit: Gautamala, San Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, with their hills and dales, mountains and valleys, giving every shade of climate and production known to the wants of man. To save ourselves from mental labor, and to answer the purpose intended as well, if not better, than any description we could give of Central America, we will adopt Squier's, which is as follows:

“That small spot—small as compared with the gigantic continent, great in reference to its geographi-

cal position and future destiny—is known as Central America. From the period of the discovery, in the fifteenth century, when Balboa, crossing its narrowest isthmus at Darien, rushed, buckler and sword in hand, into the waters of the South Sea, and claimed its almost limitless shores for the crown of Castile and Leon, until the present hour, that country has been regarded with a constantly increasing interest; an interest which the requirements of commerce, and the recent acquisitions and newly developed resources of our own country on the Pacific, have not only augmented, but turned to a practical direction. Columbus, not only comprehending the importance of his own discoveries, coasted along its eastern shores from the Gulf of Honduras to the Bight of Darien, in anxious hope and vain endeavor to find a passage whereby the treasures of the Indies might be poured into the lap of Spain. The same rich prize, augmented in value by the lapse of time and the force of events, is still offered to the enterprise of the world.

Asia, with its vast populations and increasing wants, furnishes a market worthy of the competition of nations. New and progressing States have sprung into existence on the Pacific coast of the American continent, which are destined, in the course of time, to attain a pitch of greatness, rivalling that of the proudest nations of Europe. The Australian and Polynesian islands, by the double process of colonization and civilization, have already risen into importance, and now enter largely into the commercial and political calculations of the maritime world.

A new empire is laying deep its foundations on the coast of New Holland, and it requires no extraordinary prescience to discover that it will soon take rank amongst independent nations. In short, the great tides of civilization, for three centuries moving majestically eastward to India, and westward to the New World, from the European center, now meet in the waters of the Pacific; they have encircled the earth; and "the short and easy passage to the Indies," which Columbus sought, from a leading desideratum, has been the great necessity of the age. This alone is wanting to secure forever American preponderance in the Pacific—that placid sea where steam navigation is destined to achieve its greatest triumphs, and American enterprise and American *republicanism*, their most imposing results. Geographical discovery early demonstrated the fact that to this short and easy "passage to the East," the American continent presents an unbroken barrier, from the realms of northern ice to the stormy cape of the South, lashed by the turbulent Antarctic sea. From that period the daring man has contemplated the Titanic enterprise of cutting through the continent, and opening an artificial water communication between the two great oceans. Within twenty years after the discovery, the three routes which by common consent have come to be regarded as the only feasible ones for such communication, had been indicated by one Gomara, one of the earliest writers on America.

All of these are comprehended in what is properly Central America; and that which seems to offer

peculiar advantages for this purpose, if indeed it is not the only one which has the merit of practicability, passes through the very center of this interesting country. Indeed, in respect to geographical position, it almost realizes the ancient idea of the center of the world. Not only does it connect the two great divisions of the American continent, the Northern and Southern hemispheres, but its ports open to Europe and Africa on the East, and to Polynesia, Asia, and Australia on the West. Here too, the Continent shrinks to its narrowest limits, and its great mountain barriers subside into low and broken ranges. The adventurous traveler, standing beneath the sky of an eternal summer, with the exuberance of tropical verdure around him, may look down upon the restless Atlantic, the great highway of commerce of the Old World, on the one hand, and upon the broad Pacific, rolling its unbroken waves over half the globe, on the other. These conditions unerringly point out this country as the theatre of great events, and will give it a prominence in the future history of the world, second to no other equal extent of the earth's surface. Glancing at the map, we find, at the isthmus of Tehuantepec on the North, the Gulf of Mexico approaching to within two hundred miles of the Western Ocean; the waters of the river Coazacalco, which flows into the former, interlocking with those of the Chicapa, flowing into the latter. This line affords certain facilities of transit which can not fail to be used by the inhabitants of the great Mississippi valley, to whom it affords the easiest and speediest mode of communication with the

western coast of the Continent. They will prove themselves strangely negligent of their present, and blind to their prospective, interests, if they do not secure permanently the control of that isthmus.

Below this point the continent widens, embracing the high table lands of Guatemala upon the West, and the broad plains of Tobasco, Chiapas, and Yucatan upon the East. The Gulf of Honduras, however, closes around this section upon the Southeast, and again narrows the Continent to less than two hundred miles. The country intervening between it and the Pacific, nevertheless, loses its elevated character, and constitutes two great valleys, through which the Montague finds its way to the Atlantic by the Gulf of Honduras, and the Lema flows to the Western Ocean. Still lower down, and passing the great transverse basin of Nicaragua, is the well-known narrow isthmus of Darien, over which the tide of European migration, within a period of three hundred years, has twice poured its flood—once upon Peru, and once upon the glittering shores of California.

Nor are the topographical beauties of Central America less remarkable than its geographical. In its physical aspect and configuration, it has very justly been observed, it is an epitome of all other countries and climates of the globe. High mountain ranges, isolated volcanic peaks, elevated table-lands, deep valleys, broad and fertile plains, and extensive alluvions, are here found grouped together, relieved by large and beautiful lakes, and majestic rivers, the whole teeming with animal and vegetable life, and

possessing every variety of climate, from torrid heats to the cool and bracing temperature of eternal spring. The great chain of the Cordilleras here, as in South America, runs close along the Pacific coast, but in places, is interrupted, and assumes the form of detached ranges and isolated elevations, of groups or knots of hills, between which the streams from the interior wind their way to either ocean. As a consequence, the principal alluvions border on the Gulf of Mexico and the Carribean Sea. Here rains fall in greater or less quantities for the entire year; vegetation is rank, and the climate is damp and is proportionably insalubrious. The trade winds blow from the Northeast; and the moisture with which they are saturated, condensed on the elevated parts of the Continent, flows down toward the Atlantic. The Pacific slope is therefore comparatively dry and healthful, as are also the elevated table-lands of the interior. Topographically, Central America presents three marked centers of elevation, which have, to a certain extent, fixed its political divisions. The first is the great plain in which is situated the city of Guatemala, and which is nearly six thousand feet above the sea. Here the large rivers, Usumasinta and Tabasco, flowing Northward through Chiapa and Tabasco, into the Gulf of Mexico, take their rise—their sources interlocking with those of the Motagna or Gualan, running Eastward into the Gulf of Honduras, and with those of the small streams which send their waters Westward into the Pacific. Another high plain occupies the center of Honduras, and extends into the Northern part of Nicaragua.

from which radiate a hundred streams, North and East into the Carribean Sea, and South and West into the great lake of Nicaragua, and the Southern Ocean. Among these the most remarkable are the Rio Escondido, the rivers, Vanks, boco or Sigovia, the Roman, Poyais, and Guyapi, upon the Eastern slope; the Lempa, La Rar, Nacaome, and Cholutica, upon the Western. Intervening between this and the third great center of elevation in Costa Rica, is the basin of the Nicaraguan lakes, with its verdant slopes and gently undulating plains. The nucleus of the Costa Rican elevation is the volcano of Crotago, which towers in its midst. Here, the Cordilleras resumed their general character of a great mountain barrier, but soon subside again into low ridges on the isthmus of Panama. These peculiarities of configuration will explain the endless variety of climate to which we have alluded, and which is no where more remarkable than in Central America. Situated between 8° and 17° degrees of North latitude, were it not for these features, the general temperature would be somewhat hotter than that of the West Indies. As it is, the climate of the coast is nearly the same as that of the islands alluded to, and exceedingly uniform; modified somewhat by the shape and position of the shore, and by the proximity of the mountains, as well as by the prevailing winds. The heat on the Pacific coast is not, however, so oppressive as on the Atlantic; less perhaps because of any considerable difference of temperature, than on account of the great dryness and purity of the atmosphere.

In the Northern part of the State of Guatemala, and what is called Los Altos, the Highlands, the average temperature is lower than in any other part of the country. Snow sometimes falls in the vicinity of Quezaltenango, the capital of this department, but disappears immediately, as the thermometer, rarely, if ever, falls to the freezing point. In the vicinity of Guatemala, the range of the thermometer is from 55° to 80° , averaging about 72° of Fahrenheit. Vera Paz, lying between Guatemala and Yucatan, is nearly ten degrees warmer, and the coast from the Balize around to the Gulf of Honduras, embracing the ports of Santo Tomas, and Isabel, to Omoa and Truxillo, is still hotter, and very unhealthy. The State of San Salvador lies wholly on the Pacific. It is smaller than any of the other States, and better populated. It is less elevated than either Guatemala or Honduras, and its general temperature is probably higher. The heat, however, is never oppressive, except at a few points on or near the coast, as for instance, Sonsonate, La Union, and San Miguel. The latter place is very closely shut in by mountains, and is not reached by the prevailing winds, to which circumstance its high temperature and proverbial unhealthiness are mainly to be ascribed. Honduras, as its name implies, (plural of Hondura, "depth,") has a very diversified surface. The coast upon both oceans are low; but, as we have already said, the country in the interior is elevated, and there the climate is really delightful, the average temperature at Tegucigalpa and Comayagua, the

principal towns, being about 75° F. The department of Segovia, in Nicaragua, borders on Honduras, and has a like surface and temperature. The principal part of Nicaragua, however, is different in all respects, and has a topography and climate peculiarly its own. It will be sufficient to observe here, that the lakes of Nicaragua form a great inland basin, with broad and undulating slopes, relieved only by steep volcanic cones, and a few ranges of hills along the shores of the Pacific; and that, although the general surface is low, as compared with the other States of Central America, its climate is so favorably modified by a variety of causes as to be rendered not only agreeable, but quite as salubrious as that of any equal extent of country under the tropics. The population of Costa Rica is concentrated on the Western or Pacific slope of the great volcano of Cartago, and, as a consequence, any degree of temperature may be obtained, according to the elevation from intense heat at the port of Punta Arenas to the constant spring of San Jose, or to the autumnal temperature of the belt above the ancient earthquake—shattered capital of Cartago. The eastern slopes of Costa Rica may be said to be uninhabited, and the coast from the Chirigin lagoon northward is low and unhealthy. Indeed, the entire Atlantic coast of Central America, embracing the whole of what is called the Mosquito shore, is subject to the same remark.

But yet there are points which are singularly exempt from disease, and where the inhabitants, for a radius of a few miles, enjoy general good health,

while beyond these limits the evidences of insalubrity are unmistakable. This coast has, however, scarcely any inhabitants, except a few squalid Indians of the Carib stock, of which the Moseos or Mosquitos, in consequence of certain equivocal relations with Great Britain, are the best known. This nation, as it is called, is a mongrel breed, crossed between the negroes and Indians, in every degree of mixture. They are few in number, and have only a factitious importance; for the mass of the Indians, inhabiting what is geographically known as the "Mosquito shore," neither recognize them as their masters, nor maintain any relations with them.

Besides the rivers of Central America, the principal of which have already been enumerated, there is a number of large and beautiful lakes, viz: Nicaragua, Managua, in Nicaragua; Guija and Ulopango, in San Salvador; Golfo Dula, Peten, Atitlan, and Amatitan, in Guatemala; and Yajos, in Honduras. Of these, the lakes of Managua and Nicaragua alone are navigable."

Must such a country, teeming with all material wealth, yet embosomed, be cultivated here and there, without seeming design, in a patch-work manner, by a population seven-eighths colored, with dissolute habits, tastes, and desires a little above the mere animal that eats, drinks, sleeps, and has a coming passion periodically, when the young can walk and heed a mother's voice? Would this be the decree which Abolitionists would make, by disorganizing the organic order of creation? Say, ye atheistical egotists!

Central America abounds in stock, and many cattle are shipped to Havana for beef. Far more than Mexico, it is a perennial pasture and garden, with blossom and fruit alternately appearing. The cereals of the temperate zone flourish on the table lands, while the greatest luxuriance of tropical productions grows on the plains below. The precious, as well as the useful metals, abound in the mountain gorges, yet the unsettled condition of this country has prevented much endeavor to their developments. The plants and fruits which we have enumerated in our botanical description abound here in perfection, either in the torrid or temperate zone; and those also flourishing in the temperate portions of the United States find a thriving home for themselves in the land of their new adoption. Truthfully, this is the home of the negro, and the conjuncture with reference to geographical location, where the greatest agricultural developments known to man can be produced from the exuberant soil, composed of volcanic debris, ashes and vegetable decomposition, by and through the *means* of *slave* labor. In such a tropical country, where indolence is so natural, it is only mind that rises above *matter*, and excites itself to action by agricultural products on a large scale, and commercial relations, that we can really hope for the clearing up of the forests, the draining of the swamps, and the rendering of it a garden, not unlike paradise of yore! Such a country requires the ruling race to live in its temperate zone, and to cultivate the plains below by slave labor, under the guidance of overseers or directors, who would have to

spend a portion of their time on the table lands to recuperate. By such means only, Mexico and Central America will awake from their long *night of slumber*, and *astound* the world besides, by the tide of their *prosperity*, and by the *regularity* of their developments! *These are facts, which look reason and common sense boldly in the face, and deny refutation.* These countries, since *seceding* from Spain, have shown their madness and ignorance of the future, in yielding up their only *regular and fixed prosperity* and advancement by abolishing slavery, shortly after their revolutions began. It was the death-blow to their material prosperity, for contrast these countries with Cuba and Porto Rico, in the way of developments, and see their significance dwindle to nought, like a midnight dream, in comparison; and it is by comparison that we become intelligent, and learn in each community to know its wants, and how to provide for them. Communities, five hundred or one thousand miles apart latitudinally, cannot legislate well for each other, for it is seldom that they feel for each other in legislation, whenever banded together by a generous prosperity and common ties of manhood. To return more minutely to the topography of Central America, we should say that its surface does not display that lofty and rugged character which generally marks the neighboring portions of the American continent. The chain of the Andes, which raises such a tremendous snowy barrier through the greater part of the continent, sinks, in the isthmus of Panama, into a mere rocky dike, connecting North and South America.

Near Nicaragua it seems to become little more than an insensible ridge, sloping down to the shores of the opposite oceans. Proceeding to the northwest, it soon rises and presents to the Pacific a lofty range, in which the traveler can count twenty-one volcanoes, partly burning and partly extinct. The highest of these we have mentioned. Hence, from this view of Central America, though it does not present generally that table-land appearance that Mexico does, yet it has high mountain valleys and plateaus, where we enjoy the winds of either ocean by day, and at night the land breeze, and where the productions of the more temperate zones abound. The table lands are healthy, and the thermometer varies but a few degrees in the course of the year. There are two seasons in this country—the wet and the dry. The wet begins in June, and lasts four months, and during the remainder of the year it is usually dry. Therefore, irrigation during the dry season adds greatly to the increase of the products of the soil, making a certainty in perennial verdure. Here, too, the famed spices of India can be grown successfully by *regular labor*; and the whole landscape, when cleared of its sturdier growth, and dotted with the useful and ornamental trees blended in one prospect, would be fragranting the air with perennial bloom and ripened fruit. In the torrid zone of this country, when brought under cultivation, fields after fields rising in gradual succession, yielding indigo, coffee, cacao, cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, hides, dye-woods and medicines, and especially near lake Nicaragua, with the cocoa-nut palms, cinnamon, clove,

nutmeg, allspice, and orange trees, with numerous others which we have mentioned, in addition to the banana, plantain, mangostan, durion, custard-apple, or the cherimoyer, or anona cherimolia, with all the productions of the temperate zones within a few hour's travel, would present a spectacle truly grand and inviting, one indeed which an Abolitionist or an Emancipationist should *visit* and *scrutinize* with *care* and *foresight* as to future generations, before he would give his sanction to the freedom of the negroes in the United States! All such men it should predispose to the progress of slavery South and Southwest, letting free labor keep pace with those adapted to grapple with gigantic forests and swamps, whose exhalations would unnerve and devastate any white settlement, who would have to perform the labors of the field in this tropical region. And ages after ages will roll on, with Indian and negro patches here and there cleared up and cultivated in the most careless manner, if no new system of labor, that is, *slave labor*, be not introduced and made to supplant the drone-like service which is now performed in the field, where tropical abundance should be obtained. The twenty-eighth verse of the first chapter of Genesis should be kept before the New Englanders *now* in the advancement South and Southwest, as it was kept before them immediately after their landing on Plymouth Rock, in *subduing* the *forest Indians*; wherefore we should have no sectional issue of what one portion of the people of the United States should do, in contradistinction to another portion. As the Indian obstacles to their settlement have given away, and are

distanced from them, they forget the demands and necessities of others in newer sections to such, which are not unlike theirs formerly. A *wise discretion* in legislation will look to the interests of all, and make itself thoroughly acquainted with the wants of others, before it acts on legislative principles.

In such a country, as also in Mexico, slave labor will pay from one hundred to even six hundred per cent. better than in the slave States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, possessing all the advantages in point of climate and productions to live within themselves, and to be also large exporters. An acre will produce in the tropical, and also temperate portions of these countries, two bales of cotton, in part by irrigation and in part without it; and in fact, in most every section of these countries, one slave could cultivate from six to ten acres, while three thousand pounds of sugar per acre are no uncommon yield to tropical America. The cultivation of the spices would pay also in the same ratio; while tobacco and rice would excel the qualities of those produced in the United States. In this view of the profits of labor, slave labor, with no barriers to prevent it, and by the acquisition of territory under *honorable purchases*, would advance with rapid strides from those old slave States to new fields of labor, like money in finding the best market, with the best security. Hence freedom will follow in the pace of this pioneer muscular labor to enjoy a rich field.

Such a country as we have just described will be the home, and the manifest destiny of the negro,

come weal, come woe! It is written on the American brow, and planted in his heart, and it will be attained, though it may toil through *volcanic isms*, that shake the very pillars of State from their pedestals! They will reascend, be plumed to the Constitution of our fathers, and descend to the latest posterity! For such is our destiny, and fate will not deny it; it must be onward, upward, and toward the prize; or else tropical America was *formed in vain!* and God, in his creation, an inconsistent God! God, in his creation, was not sectional, nor is he in his attributes¹ nor was the Constitution of our fathers sectional! Let us wash our hands from sectional prejudices and bury the isms beneath the sod, never to be disentombed! Such must be the action of future events, and the sooner we restore reason to its empire, so much the sooner we shall have peace and prosperity, which every good man most earnestly desires!

The contemplation of the South American portion of the American continent fills the mind with enraptured delight, to behold the many fair plateaus, or in the language of this country—pampas, silvas, and llanas, which, by far, to the greatest extent, comprise its vast fertility. The area of South America embraces a surface of 6,764,677 square miles; and in order to gather an imaginary idea with reference to this rich, vast, and tropical country, let us ascend the volcano of Aconcagua, 23,200 feet above the level of the sea, and view the grandest and most magnificent landscape conceivable, on what side soever we turn to the compass! As near the point, and to subserve our purpose for this work, we will

quote Colton's physical description of this part of the American continent, which reads as follows :

“South America presents the most striking contrasts of lofty mountains and extensive plains in the world. The mountainous or elevated tracts are chiefly limited to the borders of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and in their arrangement form four distinct mountain systems. The most remarkable of these is undoubtedly the Andine system, which stretches along the west coast north and south, in a continued chain of 4,200 miles in a straight line, and of 4,400, when measured along the highest part of the summits. The Andes are of inconsiderable width, but attain great elevations, ranking in this respect next to the Himalaya mountains. In their southern part, they form a group of mountainous islands, constituting the archepelego of Terra del Fuego, and are penetrated in every direction by narrow inlets or fiords of the sea, ending often in glaciers formed from the snow on the mountains, here frequently 6,000 feet high. Northward of these insular mountains, the main line is frequently divided by wide longitudinal valleys, and present lofty walls on either side, and in parts forming two or more separate ranges, and in its course is cut by several passes. Many of the peaks are volcanoes, varying in height from 13,000 to 22,000 feet. The highest culmination of the mountains is that called Aconcagua, being 23,200 feet above the sea level. In the isthmus of Panama the Andes are depressed and there terminate, and do not, as was formerly supposed, constitute one system with the North American mountains. From both sides

of the Andes branches are thrown off, and the slopes are rugged and hilly, being most precipitate towards the Pacific, the distance from which is seldom more than from one hundred to two hundred miles. From that branch of the mountains which encloses the lake of Maracaibo to the Carribean sea, the second system, or that of Venezuela, commences. This range strikes off at right angles in two parallel chains running due east, the most northern of which keeps close to the sea, and may be traced into the island of Trinidad. The highest point of this chain is the Silla de Caracas, which has an elevation of 8,632 feet. In consequence of this range, no rivers of magnitude descend to the sea. The third system is formed by the highlands of Guiana, which separate the plains of the lower Orinoco from those of the Negro and the Amazon, and forms, with the chain of Venezuela and the Andes, the boundary of that immense plain which is drained by the Orinoco. This mountain system runs from east to west, perhaps for six hundred or seven hundred miles, and consists of several parallel chains, some of which, in British Guiana, rise to the height of 4,000 or 5,000 feet, and in Mt. Roraima, even to 8,000 feet. The culminating point is Mt. Maravaca, a little north of the Cassiquiarie, which attains the height of 8,200 feet. The mountains of Brazil extend between 18° and 25° south, and consist of several parallel chains. These form the fourth mountain system of South America. In their position, and in relation to the great basin of the continent, they present a most striking analogy to the Alleghany system of North America. Between

the Andes and these highlands lies the extensive plain drained by the Parana, and between the mountains of Guiana and those of Brazil, the immense level that belongs to the lower course of the Amazon.

The plains of South America are, as elsewhere mentioned, of vast extent, and are variously designated as the *pampas* of the Argentine country—the *silvas* of the Amazon, and the *llanas* of the Orinoco. The *pampas* are elevated about one thousand feet above the sea, and occupy an area computed at three hundred thousand square miles. Marked by their vegetation and other characteristics from east to west, they have four different regions: the first, west from Buenos Ayres, is covered with thistles and become of vivid green, so long as the moisture from rain lasts; the second, is covered with long grass, intermixed with gaudy flowers; the third, is a tract of swamps and bogs; and the fourth, is a border of thorny bushes and dwarf trees, reaching to the Andes. The grassy plains of this level territory are occupied by thousands of wild cattle and horses. The *silvas* of the Amazon, lying in the center of the continent, are covered with woods, and so densely as to prevent land travel. They extend for one thousand five hundred miles along that river, and vary in breadth from three hundred to eight hundred miles, and are inhabited solely by various wild animals. The *llanas* of the Orinoco occupy one hundred and fifty thousand square miles between the delta of the Orinoco and the river Coquette, and are so perfectly flat as seldom to present an eminence of a few feet in height. They are nearly destitute of

trees, but after the rains, they are clothed with fine grass, and afford an abundant pasturage to the countless herds which roam over them. The dry season converts them into desolate wastes.

Besides these three great tracts of level country, there is the desert of Patagonia, occupying nearly two hundred thousand square miles, and the most barren of all the plains of South America. For the most part, it is occupied by sandy sterile dunes, intermixed with stone and gravel, and occasionally diversified by huge boulders, tufts of brown grass, low spiny bushes, brine lakes, saline incrustations and basaltic platforms. The principal rivers—the Amazon, Orinoco, and Plata, traverse the great basins which severally bear their names. These are separated by comparatively slight elevations. The Amazon is the largest river of the globe. It arises in the table land of Pasco, and after a course of about four thousand miles, falls into the Atlantic at the equator, and is ninety-six miles wide at its mouth. Its principal tributaries are the Ucayali, Madaira, Tapajos, Xingu, Negro, and Tocantins, varying in length from one thousand miles to one thousand eight hundred. The Amazon is navigable itself for two thousand two hundred miles from the sea. The Orinoco rises from the center of the high lands of Guiana, and its length is estimated at one thousand three hundred or one thousand four hundred miles. The navigation of these two rivers is connected by the natural canal of Cassiquiare, and the Rio Negro; and the latter has also numerous affluents, many of them large rivers. The Rio de la Plata is not so much a

river as an estuary, formed by the confluence of the rivers Parana and Uruguay. The Parana receives immense tributaries from the West, the chief of which is the Paraguay. The valley drained by these streams extends from the Andes to the mountains of Brazil, and northward to twelfth parallel. There are a number of other rivers in South America, which, though not so large as any of those above named, are equal, if not superior in size to even the largest of Europe. Among these are the Magdalena, flowing north from the Andine valleys to the Carribean Sea, and the San Francisco, Essequibo, Colorado, Negro, etc., flowing into the Atlantic. From the Pacific side of the mountains there are no large rivers. None of the lakes of South America are of great size, and, with the exception of Titicaca, are rather vast morasses; the large inland waters of Venezuela, called Lake Maracaibo, being the mere inlet of the sea, and not a true lake. The lake Titicaca is situated near the northwest frontier of Bolivia: it covers an area of four thousand six hundred square miles, is elevated twelve thousand seven hundred and ninety-five feet above the sea, and is said to be very deep, and probably an old crater. Some of the temporary lakes, alternately inundated and dry, or in a marshy state, cover, when flooded, vast tracts of country. The largest of these is lake Xarayes, at the head of the Paraguay, by which its surplus waters are carried off. In the elevated mountain valleys and table-lands of the Andes there are many small lakes, and there are numerous small salt lakes in the pampas. There is no part of South America

so hot as its geographical position would indicate—a result due to the trade winds, the lofty mountains, and other physical causes. The burning heats of the plains of Arabia are unknown on the Western Continent. In the steppes of Caracas, the hottest region of South America, the temperature of the day is only 98° Fahr. in the shade, while it rises to 112° in the sandy deserts of the Red Sea. Throughout the whole basin of the Amazon, which comprehends more than a third of the Peninsula, the climate is neither very hot nor very unhealthy, though under the equator. This arises from its being shaded by lofty forests, and from the prevalence of a cool easterly breeze, a branch of the trade wind, which ascends the channel of the Amazon, following all its windings to the foot of the Andes. Brazil and the country extending westward from it, enjoys an equitable and temperate climate, and even at Rio Janeiro, the mean temperature is only above 74° ; at Buenos Ayres the mean annual heat is 68° ; and in the strait of Magalhaens, the temperature of the warmest month, does not exceed 43° or 46° , while snow falls almost daily. The narrowness of the continent toward the south, the immense tract of ocean which lie on either side of it, and its exposure to the rigor of the polar region, sufficiently account for this inclemency. On the west coast, between latitude 7° and 32° south, there is a rainless district of nearly one thousand miles in length, the sea vapors being condensed on the Andes. Granite forms the base of the whole of South America, having gneiss here and

there associated with it; but mica schist is the most common of the crystalline rocks. Quartz rock is also much developed, generally mixed with mica, and rich in gold¹ and specular iron. The pampas are entirely alluvial, the deposit of the great rivers of the La Plata system. To the extent of two thousand miles along the coast of Brazil, granite is the prevailing rock, and with the sienite forms the basis of the table land. The superabundance of the latter consists of metamorphic and old igneous rocks, sandstone, clay-slate, limestone, (in which there are large caverns with bones of extinct animals,) and alluvial soil. Porphyry and red sandstone abound all over the Andes. Peru, Bolivia and Chili are the great mineral sites of South America, and produce chiefly silver, but also some gold and other metals; and in Chili copper is very abundant. The province of Minas Geraes, in Brazil, is likewise, as its name implies, exceedingly rich in mines.

Besides the deposits *in situ*, gold and silver are found in many of the rivers in Brazil, and also in other *States of South America*. The most distinguishing feature in the vegetation of South America is its prodigious forests, which cover about two-thirds of the whole surface. These forests are, in several remarkable particulars, wholly different from those of the Old World. The trees are much more various, more graceful, and have more distinctive characters; and many of them, even the largest, are adorned with the most brilliant flowers. Throughout the whole of the tropical region vegetation is on the grandest scale; and in those regions where there are

due proportions of heat and moisture, the magnitude of the trees and the splendor of the blossoms are extraordinary. Fruits also abound, including oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, mangoes, bananas, plantains, pomegranates, mawmorns, goyabas," etc., and all those which we enumerated in our botanical description of other portions of tropical America. "Southward of the equator are found the quassia bitter, the fragrant tinga bean, the beauteous rosewood, and the chincono tree; and the indigo, coffee, sugar-cane, maize, and also the cacao tree, are among the products. The cultivation of the tea tree has also been attempted in Brazil; and Paraguay furnishes the *yerba mate*, from which is prepared the universal beverage of one-half of the peninsula. Further south, towards Patagonia, vegetation gradually loses its tropical character, and finally assumes a more and more stunted aspect, until it is lost in the mosses of the polar latitudes." The vast scope for slave labor is here spread out before us, on the rich silvas, llanas, and pampas, that skirt the coasts and the vast alluvial rivers! Hence, our countrymen, in view of progressive slavery to the South and Southwest, and in view of the labor which is before it, ere it makes an impression on the field of emigration and agriculture, which it has to perform, let us, as one people, great and magnanimous as the field of agriculture and commerce is, which is here partially alluded to, reason together, settle this bloody discord, and unite our combined efforts in military, agricultural and commercial relations both North and South, East and West, with progressive slavery, towards restoring

Mexico, Central and South America, except Brazil, and the English, Dutch and French possessions, to peace, prosperity and the pursuit of happiness; though we may have to struggle *altogether* against the combined efforts of Europe! The attainment of these great objects, and making a ship *channel* across the Isthmus, would excite every true American to action and patriotism, and give each member of society enough to do, without planing *isms* to subvert the institutions of our common country! The public mind must be led from utter destruction by a *bold stroke of policy*, that will *awaken* mankind from their *apathy to reason*, and the *exercise of common sense*! Let men reason, and let these happy events come, proving a blessing to the negro race, and to all mankind! When slavery has performed its mission in the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, let the negro dream of Africa, and return physically a changed being, to his native home! In view of so vast a country as South America, with the exception of Brazil, which has slaves, as being adapted to slave labor, either in an agricultural or mining sense, extending over territory sufficient for sixty States, with an area of more than fifty thousand square miles to each State, we can form some idea of the prosperity and developments of such, in review of our past history, when peace, not war, was hovering around our hearth-stones. Slavery as an institution, to develop the resources of the soil, and to serve as pioneer labor in the United States of North America, the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, the islands of the Pacific, and Africa, is yet in its pride

of infancy ; it will march on slowly, yet unhesitatingly, into the tropics of America, of the Pacific, and Africa, in accordance with verse 28th, first chapter of Genesis, subduing the earth through the genius of the white man, created in the image and after the likeness of his Creator. In this great work there are grades of beings below man, that have their works assigned, to comply with the order of creation, and with the march of developments. None are useless ; the Indians have performed, and are performing their tasks ; and lo ! like some inferior animals, of which there is little account of them, they are passing off, with their missions on earth having been performed. Like the Indian mission, slavery will pass from the temperate zones of the earth into the tropics, having reduced the country to smiling habitations by clearing its forests and draining its swamps, from that incumbrance which conflicts with products for man's enlightened reason. Its long home will be in cultivating the low lands of the tropics, where, if Abolitionists should plead for and demand a truce of God's organic law, as now, the yellow fever, with all the ills incident to such a climate, will lay such Atheists prostrate like a pile of ruins, and will serve to keep in abeyance, within the temperate zones, all such offenders of organic law. Such false pretenders and liars, in face of reason and the light of experience, would there, as now, in their *little stealings of sombre shades*, which they take in defiance of constitutional faith and pledges, to do their menial work, acquiesce, when weakened by climate, in all that the organic institution would be capable of imparting. Such would

be reality, sensibly felt, in such a climate, opposed to impudence in self-pretence to God's order of nature.

The superstructure of this work is based on the *organic law* of God; and the spirit and intent of it are made known to man by the philosophy of reason, *without which nothing is good!* We have depicted man in his true estate as he was created in the beginning, and feel in having done so, that we have not overreached the *design* of God in his creation. To say that God created this world without *design* and a foreknowledge, would be to involve the creation in *mystery* and *chance*, which no logical and well balanced mind could assent to for one moment, reasoning from cause to effect, or from effect to cause. For whatever trivial object of creation we behold, excites us with wonder and astonishment, when we contemplate its construction and adaptation to locomotion. As a simple instance to show a manifest *design* of God in his creation, we mention that of the fly, and all other insects that can walk on ceilings. To the unthoughtful, this inquiry has never appealed itself; but it is none the less an object of curiosity, and of philosophical science essentially, which has imparted to us the reason of such insects being able to walk thus. The pressure of the atmosphere is fourteen pounds to the square inch on all surface matter, in any direction; hence, the foot of the fly being hollow on its lower surface and extending out a proportional distance from the leg on the upper surface, illustrates a philosophical experiment, when the fly sets its foot down, by forcing the air out from the hollow, while the air above presses the foot to the ceiling; and

therefore, the fly can walk, and for this reason other insects like the fly can walk as the fly does. This is trivial, but it nevertheless indicates *design* in the creation of such. If God condescended to show *his design* in such trivial insects, how much more he would manifest his *purposes* in the ascending scale of animated nature? otherwise, he would have created *us in vain!* The order of creation marked out, and laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, which we have proved by the dint of reason and logical deductions, places every particle of matter in its true relative position, and is evidence of man, the white man, having been formed last, and made vicegerant of the earth, as having supreme dominion over *everything that moves!*

Faithfully have we endeavored, and truthfully, and to the point beyond refutation, have we proved, from the first chapter of Genesis, the order of creation, by reason, by inductive physiology, and also, by ethnology. In this natural history of all the incidents of creation, which are expressed by the Inspired Moses, when he gave to man the facts of creation, we have shown that God began with inanimate things, and gradually ascended in *His* progress of creation, though, with a special care and foresight with reference to each thing created, producing its kind; and that the whole great workmanship was completed in six consecutive days, making man *last through design*. For, had he been made first, what office could he have performed, would be the leading inquiry made by the most casual observer, during that period God was engaged in completing His

great work? We have seen, in this history, when God began to create animal life in the waters, and that in the air, and also that on the earth. In all this *He* showed *design* and a *manifest intent* to make each produce his kind, not varying in the least, in His production thus far. That all existences of color, and those below these and above animals walking ever on all fours, had their origins respectively as laid down in the 24th verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis; and to question these facts would throw this important part of God's workmanship out of the *order* of its regular and fixed production; and this irregularity would manifest inconsistency in God in His *organic law*, which natural history, based on the 1st chapter of Genesis, does not prove, for inanimate and animate life is made to produce *his kind*. Thus far, God had shown *His* consistency in all His doings; and when he had made man, He crowned His workmanship with the last of His plastic forms! Hence, we have read the commands of God in the 28th verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis, which are imperative ones to man and to women, or to the 'male and the female.' In these, there is no choice between obedience and insubordination! We have proved that each thing, whether inanimate or animate, produces *its* kind, according to the *organic law*; and in the event of any deviation, it is a prodigy; hence, man, and the colored existences, there being four kinds, as presently seen, did not descend from one common parentage, but each from the parentage which his color represents; therefore, in view of all the matter before us, man, the white man was the

last created, and he is placed, as stated in the 28th verse before mentioned, to have *dominion* over everything that moves. He rules the earth—the seeds of the earth; and in fact, animate and inanimate life. Hence, the Mongolians, the Indians, the Malays or Polynesians, and Africans, *move*, and he is *ordered* to *rule over them!* Therefore, slavery is a Divine institution, instituted in the beginning, out of matter inanimate into animate, to fill a wise ordinance of God, in the same manner as everything beneath man, and beneath these existences of colors, fills the peculiar sphere allotted to its kind.

That slavery is a Divine institution, we have proved beyond refutation, from the 1st chapter of Genesis, and if there be *truth* and *divinity* in the one, there is in the other; and the sooner mankind acknowledge this fact and give quiet acquiescence to it, so much the sooner shall wars cease, resulting from such issues; for Divinity itself can not be conquered, and if curtailed by the wicked and corrupt in one region of the earth, *His* divine attributes will rise and shine again, in some other division of the globe, with more translucent splendor than before! Such is the life of a Divine attribute, and such will be the life of slavery as to the colored existences, let *Hell* raise her crest and sling her darts!

Who can question this Providence in God, and that too, for a wise purpose? In the progress we have made in the United States, we owe a debt of gratitude to this institution, which, no less, the European nations owe also; for to advance in the arts and sciences, we must have ease and comforts, and be

exempt from manual labor, at least, the servile part of it; otherwise, hard labor saps that fountain which is constantly rising to the surface, till the innate desires are exhausted, which render the incumbent incapable of aspiring! And who sees not the truth of these remarks, yes, facts that impress their weight and importance upon every intelligent mind? If we did not advance mentally through the means of colored existences, to perform the servile labor, we should be insensible to the *design* of God in *His* great creation, man being *created* in the image and after the likeness of his Creator. In view of slavery, and the justness of it being so fully proved from the 1st chapter of Genesis, and in view of man being created to be *obedient* to the *natural laws* of God, as *foreshadowed* in this chapter, and also, in view of the vast field of labor spread out before us in tropical America and tropical Africa, shall we like other Caucasian nations of the Old World, prove ourselves unequal to the stewardship, which God, in the 28th verse of the above chapter, decreed to us, and allow the earth to revive with thorns, and thistles, and with its vast wilderness waste? in preference to carrying out *His* most imperative *commands*—those which look us bold in the face and plead their execution! Let every American read and contemplate *this verse* in connection with the others in this chapter, and see how he can escape *eternal punishment*, if he acts not up to its injunctions. Varying from it as the natural history of this chapter indicates from the light of reason; and what sins, oh! our countrymen, are we not committing? You have it, from the

text and our elucidations, by the philosophy of reason, before you, and which will you choose, light or darkness? If your deeds be good, you will obey the commands of God in *His organic law*, but if your deeds be evil, you will persist in Abolitionism and Emancipationism, which will, most effectually, keep the earth an unyielding waste, especially in her tropics, and result in our debasement and self-destruction!

That the intelligent Abolitionists know that they are acting in opposition to the order of creation, and also in contravention of their own best judgments, we quote the following from the Cincinnati Daily Enquirer of November 5th, 1862, touching a speech of Daniel S. Dickinson. It is as follows:

“A PORTRAIT.—Daniel S. Dickinson, one of the great guns of Abolitionism in New York, and upon whose efforts to defeat Seymour so much reliance is placed, gave the following graphic and true portrait of those with whom he is at present associated, on an occasion and at a time when it was not necessary for him to lie:

“‘A more graceless set of politicians never congregated. They are desperate men from all parties—the lame, the halt and the blind, gathered together; and what are they going to do? Going to help freedom! Freedom for whom? Their every effort jeopardizes freedom; and if only their efforts prevail, we would not long have a free Government. Freedom for a few blacks. Turning aside from the great destinies of humanity, leaving this country and the race to whom its destinies were committed, to go off in a

crusade, jeopardizing the institutions of the country, violating the Constitution, menacing the harmony and integrity of every bond of Union, rather than slavery should be extended. What do they care for slavery? They would seek to rivet slavery upon the limbs of thirty millions of people, and upon humanity for all time to come, in order that their mad, crude, incendiary ideas should be carried out in reference to a few blacks.’”

Where is there a more correct portrait of the school of Abolitionism than is here fully declared, and that, too, by one who, when he made this declaration, did not believe so fully in Abolitionism as now? It shows that nothing can be gained from such a course but despotism and slavery for the whites, instead of the blacks. Such a declaration, from such a source, speaks volumes, and sets aside all comments on the wickedness, depravity, and perversity of the Abolition character. It shows of what they are *composed*—the refuse of parties heretofore prominent; and like desperate men in a desperate cause, it proves that they are determined to survive the hurricane on only part of the *ship* of State, letting all else that is useful, and graceful, and progressive, founder in the tumultuous waves, that like mountains rise, impel to immediate destruction!

In the history of man, as in the history of nations, each one composing a portion of the respective compacts, should feel, in the first walks of life, that he has a *design* and a *purpose* on earth, and with this view, *bend* himself to *natural law*, in order to fulfill his *great destiny*! We Americans have before us a

great and eventful destiny, in the endeavor to subdue the earth, or even tropical America, which we have, in part, described ; provided, we walk and progress in accordance with the commands of God ! In this dissertation, with reference to slavery being a Divine institution, we have proved it beyond skepticism and the research of depravity on the opposite side of this question ; and consequently, having full faith in the injunctions of God and the Constitution, and decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, we invite obedience to the commands of God and the Constitution, based on *natural law*, for the good of mankind ! We are in a fearful civil commotion, and seemingly, with the endeavor to demolish the pillars of State ! We must pause and reason, not only in the North, East, West, but in the South, ere reason has forever descended from her throne, with all of her soft and peaceful endearments ! Without reason, there is no peace, no prosperity, no security for life and property, and no national greatness ! Hence, let reason descend to every American in our extended domain, and let his actions be governed by it, or destruction both to life and property will be our common fate, and madness will rule the hour of gloomy night. Mexico and Central America are before us, and they plead for our action ! even their mountains and valleys hold out their inducements and invite our incoming ! Shall we pause to consider whether we shall take them under our protectorate, in defiance of the French armies that are about to pour into fair Mexico and subject her to French domination ? The picture is before us, O, our countrymen ! and the fate

of Mexico will, ere long, be sealed, if she receives no friendly aid from Americans, and thence Central America will follow in her wake! In this view, let us nurture reason awhile, and see how her charms look in their *new dressing*; for since civil commotion was begun, she has been slumbering on her couch of repose! Let her ascend the throne of every American mind, and let us, with all our *manliness*, bury our *isms*, unite our forces both North and South, both East and West, as one great and good people, willing to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us, in like times, conditions and circumstances, and *throw once and forever* our *mantle of protection* around *Mexico and Central America*, repel that foreign invader from our *American soil*, establish a protectorate over these two regions, and open them up to commerce and navigation! In this view, we mean France, because Mexico has offered every honorable inducement to settle with her, for the aggressions and spoliations which any of her citizens may have suffered in consequence of the civil wars in that country. The same we should feel, if any other of the European States were endeavoring to conquer Mexico, or any portion of America. As a nation we respect the French; but *not when* they endeavor to make their line of policy conflict with our territorial progress, both with reference to freedom and slavery. This is the correct American feeling which should have a response and a will in every heart within our vast domain! In assuming the *protectorate* of Mexico and Central America, we should exercise the utmost care and forecast to bar a misuse of the elective fran-

chise. Wherefore, let no one in Mexico nor Central America vote but those descendants by common parentage from the Spaniards of old Spain, with such Caucasians as may enter those regions in what pursuit soever, protecting all others in the enjoyment of their lives, property and pursuit of happiness. Thence let us invite settlement, permitting slaves to be taken from any of the slave States into these acquisitions, and be protected by general laws as well as special, in the Mexican States, where they may be taken; and from this consideration, slavery will go where it will pay the best, letting the Mexican peones remain peones as being the better means of preserving them from immorality and vice, and of saving them from too speedy a destruction! In this manner, slavery will regulate itself to sections and regions where it pays, and *leave* those where it does not. This is the law of trade and labor where civil enactments do not operate to the contrary. At this conjuncture of our national calamities, when destruction excites to wonder, and blood to weep, let *this advocacy* be the policy of *reason* and *common sense* in self preservation, and it must meet with universal adoption among men of sound and logical judgments. It is a bold and striking policy, for such the American mind requires! United, it can remove mountains, and subdue tropical America by the means of slavery, rendering it a smiling abode for man, in view of its altitudes, and a reflection of gratitude to all coming ages! Upon these vital principles of self preservation and of future progress, we conjure you, our countrymen, to unite all your energies to combat France in her con-

quest of Mexico, and assume her protectorate, giving yourselves and this unhappy country, for so many years, a prospect and a guarantee, favoring and protecting man here in his whole *estate*! These great considerations, possessing the wealth of Golconda, are within your reach! Will you, our countrymen, have them, or will you reject them? It is now for you to decide your future *progress* or future *fate*! Will you unite and do it, according to the *organic law* in the order of creation, or will you reject this golden opportunity of restoring peace to yourselves and peace to these distracted countries? We must not forget the precepts and doctrine of our forefathers, who have declared that no *foreign power* should interfere with the affairs of the American continent.

Are we equal to the declaration of our forefathers, or shall we spurn them and their great and noble deeds? Let us look to the foreign foe, spread out our flag, and take in those sister *Republics* in word, and nurture among ourselves, a respectful consideration for all that pertains to national honor and progress! These are incentives worthy of man, created in the image and after the likeness of God! Shall we not altogether pursue them to the accomplishment of the great objects brought, in this dissertation before us, or shall we, like Mexico, Central and South America, with some of the European, and most of the Asiatic, nations, relapse into barbarism, murdering, plundering, devastating, and prostituting, all animate gains, and animate hopes? God forbid! Let us restore ourselves to reason and common sense, by an appeal to God, our Great Creator, to adjust

our hearts and our understandings! Let us be earnest in our devotion to the *order of creation*, as seen and expounded by the philosophy of reason, and to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States of North America!

By the organization of matter from its original state into inanimate existence, as well as by that into animate existence, by analysis and comparison, and by the *conventional compact* based on the organic order of God in his creation, we have proved slavery to be a Divine institution, not only of the Africans, but of the Mongolians, Malays, or Polynesians, and Indians.

This may startle some; we expect and desire to persuade them to reason, and to the exercise of common sense, as it was displayed in the order of creation, which defends, guards, and protects the position advanced in this dissertation.

Almost daily we are asked how we know that the origins of the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, and Caucasian, is separate, one from the other, and has no connection any more than the original matter, out of which each organic form, as it now appears to our senses and understandings, was conceived and brought forth? one reply is, how do we know that rye, oats, barley, wheat, corn, the fruits of the earth, sun, moon, the planets, and stars, are different and separate in their origins and organizations, from original matter, though all formed out of chaos within the six consecutive days that gave birth to the world? Do not our senses teach us a proper consideration of the latter, and with regard to which, we

see no doubters; hence, on the same principle of reasoning, who can doubt the original condition of the former, as they are now presented to us in the book of nature, when we are *pursuaded* to turn over its leaves. Fire burns, the rose blossoms, the young come forth, the sun, moon, the planets, and stars, are in motion, yet who can *see* that *secret agency* that causes all these effects, any more or less, than he can see that Agency that gives rise to the different colored existences, and man, yet we know, by the exercise of reason, that such exist and have all the generative organs for reproduction in resemblance to themselves, severally. No one, for a moment, pretends, *through a process of presumed mutations*, that an apple originated from a pear, or a cherry from a plum, or an apricot from a peach, or squirrel from a rabbit, or tea from coffee, or coffee from the beans which we eat, etc., by apparent congeneries throughout the whole volume of nature. And why not? Because their organic forms are distinct, and each has the capacity of reproducing its kind, and an appeal to our senses awards this decision. This being the condition of this figure, as presented to the most common understanding; physiologically and ethnologically, in view of the organic law then, what deviation should we expect from such, with reference to existences of colors and man, in their creation and production? If we should wander into the woody forests, or over the verdant meadows, or over the dry channels which have disgorged their fountains, coming from mountains and periodical springs, or take a geological survey of the inner depths of the

earth, and should say, after a minute investigation, and after we had beheld so much diversity in the organic forms of matter, that all sprang from one organic form in each of the kingdoms! what would a common field-hand negro, exercising no more sense than enough to do the bidding of the whites, say as to such a conclusion? The most common understanding must see the monstrosity of such a conclusion, and of intelligent white men arguing in favor of the unity of existences of colors and man, in the United States, and of putting such on an equality with the whites politically, for no other purpose, after their emancipation is effected, than to use them as tools, as the existences of colors are used in Mexico, Central, and South America, except Brazil. This will be the upshot of the present gigantic abolition raid against slavery. By making emancipated slaves citizens, and consequently voters, they would be ever ready to play into the hands of the Abolitionists, the balance of power in the government, which would degenerate into a monarchy of blacks and whites, as heterogenous as could be generated. The Agrarian law was a humbug; Mohammedanism was a humbug; the pretended religion of those people who settled in New England near Plymouth Rock, was a humbug; Witchcraftism was a humbug; the persecution of the Quakers and Catholics in New England was a humbug; Mormonism was a humbug; Socialism was a humbug; Millerism was a humbug; but the prince of humbugs is Abolitionism in modern times, with such men as Prichard, Sumner, Lovejoy, Fremont, Cameron, Dickinson, with a whole host of greater

and less satellites, that shine in the dim and bloody world of their own creation !

If the religion of the New Englanders had been pure, and had it been founded on this eternal principle of respecting "thy neighbor as thyself" in point of natural organic rights, could they have persecuted the Quakers and Catholics who came among them? God, in his creation, made the earth for the white man, and all else in subordination to him; see physiologically the order of creation in the first chapter of Genesis. Therefore, those whites who believe in Him have a right to His Inheritance, a natural right to air, water, and the *earth* to sleep on, and a conventional right to *purchase* lands, founded on Organic Law, or as it should be, for possessions. To purchase in this sense, implies an original white possessor. As based on this law, there could be no religious nor political persecutions; for inanimate nature does not persecute herself; hence can animate nature consistently persecute herself? When man, over his fellow man, deviates from this law, and inflicts punishment, banishment, imprisonment, or death, upon those who adhere to the order of creation, and consequently to organic law, he denies this order, this law, and becomes an Atheist. For, in offending God in spiritual matters, man is responsible to his Creator alone, and when man assumes to pronounce the judgment in question, he deifies himself, denies his God, and becomes an Atheist, also.

This was the condition with those first emigrants to New England, who settled near Plymouth Rock, and who assumed the reins of God in their punishment

of man for departures in faith from their creed. This same Abolition, fanatical, Atheistical, unconstitutional, creed has been handed down from father to son in those States, embracing those susceptible of its adoption, till the constitutional elements of the United States are aroused from their apathy, to contemplate means of forcing *all* to the letter and spirit of the Constitutional platform, founded by our forefathers.

In drawing this work to a close, it may profit us to review portions of the Constitution, and our first object is to quote Benjamin R. Curtis, of Boston, Massachusetts, late Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, on Executive Power, by presenting in the first place, the subjects that gave rise to his article, as follows, to-wit :

**EXTRACT FROM PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION OF
SEPTEMBER 22, 1862.**

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free : and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to suppress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States, and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections, where a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

"Understand, I raise no objection against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy in time

of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy."—*President Lincoln to the Chicago Delegation.*

PROCLAMATION OF SEPTEMBER 24, 1862.


"WHEREAS, It has become necessary to call into service not only volunteers, but also a portion of the militia of the States by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law from hindering this measure, and from giving aid and comfort, in various ways, to the insurrection.

Now, therefore, be it ordered—

1. That during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insurgents, all aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice, affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by court martial or military commission.

2. That the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court martial or military commission.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

 Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President :

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State."

ORDERS OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR, PROMULGATED SEPTEMBER 26, 1862.

"First. There shall be a Provost Marshal General of the War Department, whose headquarters will be at Washington, and who will have the immediate supervision, control and management of the corps.

Second. There will be appointed in each State one or more special Provost Marshals, as necessity may require, who will report and receive instructions and orders from the Provost Marshal General of the War Department.

Third. It will be the duty of the special Provost Marshal to arrest all deserters, whether Regulars, Volunteers, or Militia, and send them to the nearest military commander or military post, where they can be cared for and sent to their respective regiments; to arrest upon the warrant of the

Judge Advocate, all disloyal persons subject to arrest under the orders of the War Department; to inquire into and report treasonable practices, seize stolen or embezzled property of the Government, detect spies of the enemy, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined upon them by the War Department, and report all their proceedings promptly to the Provost Marshal General.

Fourth. To enable special Provost Marshals to discharge their duties efficiently, they are authorized to call on any available military force within their respective districts, or else to employ the assistance of citizens, constables, sheriffs, or police officers, as far as may be necessary under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Provost Marshal General of the War Department, with the approval of the Secretary of War.

Fifth. Necessary expenses incurred in this service will be paid in duplicate bills, certified by the special Provost Marshal, stating time and nature of service, after examination and approval by the Provost Marshal General.

Sixth. The compensation of special Provost Marshals shall be — dollars per month, and actual traveling expenses, and postage will be refunded on bills certified under oath, and approved by the Provost Marshal General.

Seventh. All appointments in this service will be subject to be revoked at the pleasure of the Secretary of War.

Eighth. All orders heretofore issued by the War Department, conferring authority upon other officers to act as Provost Marshals, except those who receive special commissions from the War Department, are hereby revoked.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant General."

EXECUTIVE POWER.

"No citizen can be insensible to the vast importance of the late proclamations and orders of the President of the United States. Great differences of opinion already exist concerning them. But whatever those differences of opinion may be, upon one point all must agree. They are assertions of transcendent executive power.

There is nothing in the character or conduct of the Chief Magistrate—there is nothing in his present position in connection with these proclamations, and there is nothing in the state of the country which should prevent a candid and dispassionate discussion, either of their practical tendencies or of the source of power from whence they are supposed to spring.

The President, on all occasions, has manifested the strongest desire to act cautiously, wisely, and for the best interests of the country. What is commonly called his proclamation of emancipation is, from its terms

and from the nature of the case, only a declaration of what, at its date, he believed might prove expedient, within yet undefined territorial limits, three months hence, thirty days after the next meeting of Congress, and within territory not at present subject even to our military control. Of course, such an executive declaration as to his future intentions must be understood by the people to be liable to be modified by events, as well as subject to such changes of views respecting the extent of his own powers, as a more mature, and possibly a more enlightened consideration, may produce.

In April, 1861, the President issued his proclamation, declaring that he would treat as pirates all persons who should cruise under the authority of the so-called Confederate States, against the commerce of the United States.

But subsequent events induced him, with general acquiescence, to exchange them as prisoners of war. Not from any fickleness of purpose, but because the interests of the country imperatively demanded this departure from his proposed course of action.

In like manner it is not to be doubted by any one who esteems the President honestly desirous to do his duty to the country, under the best lights possible, that when the time for his action on his recent proclamations and orders shall arrive, it will be in conformity with his own wishes that he should have those lights which are best elicited in this country by temperate and well considered public discussion; discussion not only of the practical consequences of the proposed measures, but of his own constitutional power to decree and execute them.

The Constitution has made it incumbent on the President to recommend to Congress such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient. Although Congress will have been in session nearly thirty days before any executive action is proposed to be taken on this subject of emancipation, it can hardly be supposed that this proclamation was intended to be a recommendation to them. Still, in what the President may perhaps regard as having some flavor of the spirit of the Constitution, he makes known to the people of the United States his proposed future executive action; certainly not expecting or desiring that they should be indifferent to such a momentous proposal, or should fail to exercise their best judgments, and afford their best counsels upon what so deeply concerns themselves.

Our public affairs are in a condition to render unanimity, not only in the public councils of the nation, but among the people themselves, of the first importance; but the President must have been aware, when he issued these proclamations, that nothing approaching toward unanimity upon their subjects could be attained among the people save through their public discussion. And as his desire to act in accordance with the wisest and best settled and most energetic popular sentiment cannot be doubted, we may justly believe that executive action has been postponed, among other reasons, for the very purpose of allowing time for such discussion.

And, in reference to the last proclamation, and the orders of the Secretary of War, intended to carry it into practical effect, though their operation is immediate, so far as their express declarations can make them so, they have not yet been practically applied to such an extent, or in such a way, as not to allow it to be supposed that the grounds upon which they rest are open for examination.

However this may be, these are subjects in which the people have vast concern. It is their right, it is their duty to themselves and to their posterity, to examine and to consider and to decide upon them; and no citizen is faithful to his great trust if he fail to do so, according to the best lights he has, or can obtain. And if, finally, such examination and consideration shall end in diversity of opinion, it must be accepted as justly attributable to the questions themselves, or to the men who have made them.

It has been attempted by some partisan journals to raise the cry of 'disloyalty' against any one who should question these executive acts.

But the people of the United States know that loyalty is not subservience to a man, or to a party, or to the opinions of newspapers; but that it is an honest and wise devotion to the safety and welfare of our country, and to the great principles which our Constitution of government embodies, by which alone that safety and welfare can be secured. And, when those principles are put in jeopardy, every true loyal man must interpose, according to his ability, or be an unfaithful citizen.

This is not a Government of men. It is a Government of laws. And the laws are required by the people to be in conformity with their will, declared by the Constitution. Our loyalty is due to that will. Our obedience is due to those laws; and he who would induce submission to other laws, springing from sources of power not originating in the people, but in casual events, and in the mere will of the occupants of places of power, does not exhort us to loyalty, but to a desertion of our trust.

That they, whose principles he questions, have the conduct of public affairs; that the times are most critical; that public unanimity is highly necessary; while these facts afford sufficient reasons to restrain all opposition upon any personal or party grounds, they can afford no good reason—hardly a plausible apology—for failure to oppose usurpation of power which, it acquiesced in and established, must be fatal to a free Government.

The war in which we are engaged is a just and necessary war. It must be prosecuted with the whole force of this Government till the military power of the South is broken, and they submit themselves to their duty to obey, and our right to have obeyed, the Constitution of the United States, as 'the supreme law of the land.' But with what sense of right can we subdue them by arms to obey the Constitution as the supreme law of *their* part of the land if we have ceased to obey it, or failed to preserve it, as the supreme law of *our* part of the land?

I am a member of no political party. Duties, inconsistent, in my opinion, with the preservation of any attachments to political party, caused me to withdraw from all such connections many years ago, and they have never been resumed. I have no occasion to listen to the exhortations, now so frequent, to divest myself of party ties, and disregard party objects, and act for my country. I have nothing but my country for which to act, in any public affair; and solely because I have that yet remaining, and know not but it may be possible, from my studies and reflections, to say something to my countrymen which may aid them to form right conclusions in these dark and dangerous times, I now reluctantly address them.

I do not propose to discuss the question whether the first of these proclamations of the President, if definitely adopted, can have any practical effect on the unhappy race of persons to whom it refers; nor what its practical consequences would be upon them and upon the white population of the United States if it should take effect; nor through what scenes of bloodshed, and worse than bloodshed, it may be, we should advance to those final conditions; nor even the lawfulness, in any Christian or civilized sense, of the use of such means to attain any end.

If the entire social condition of nine millions of people has, in the providence of God, been allowed to depend upon the executive decrees of one man, it will be the most stupendous fact which the history of the race has exhibited. But, for myself, I do not yet perceive that this vast responsibility is placed upon the President of the United States. I do not yet see that it depends upon his executive decree whether a servile war shall be invoked to help twenty millions of the white race to assert the rightful authority of the Constitution and laws of their country over those who refuse to obey them. But I do see that this proclamation asserts the power of the Executive to make such a decree.

I do not yet perceive how it is that my neighbors and myself, residing remote from armies and their operations, and where all the laws of the land may be enforced by constitutional means, should be subjected to the possibility of military arrest and imprisonment, and trial before a military commission, and punishment at its discretion for offences unknown to the law; a possibility to be converted into a fact at the mere will of the President, or of some subordinate officer, clothed by him with this power. But I do perceive that this executive power is asserted.

I am quite aware that, in times of great public danger, unexpected perils, which the legislative power has failed to provide against, may imperatively demand instant and vigorous executive action, passing beyond the limits of the law; and that, when the Executive has assumed the high responsibility of such a necessary exercise of mere power, he may justly look for indemnity to that department of the Government which alone has the rightful authority to grant it; an indemnity, which should be always sought and accorded upon the clearest admission of legal wrong, finding

its excuse in the exceptional case which made that wrong absolutely necessary for the public safety.

But I find no resemblance between such exceptional cases and the substance of these proclamations and these orders. They do not relate to exceptional cases—they establish a system. They do not relate to some instant emergency—they cover an indefinite future. They do not seek for excuses—they assert powers and rights. They are general rules of action, applicable to the entire country, and to every person in it; or to great tracts of country and to the social condition of their people; and they are to be applied whenever and wherever and to whomsoever the President, or any subordinate officer whom he may employ, may choose to apply them.

Certainly these things are worthy of the most deliberate and searching examination.

Let us, then, analyze these proclamations and orders of the President; let us comprehend the nature and extent of the powers they assume. Above all, let us examine that portentous cloud of the military power of the President, which is supposed to have overcome us and the civil liberties of the country, pursuant to the will of the people, ordained in the Constitution because we are in a state of war.

And first, let us understand the nature and operation of the proclamation of emancipation, as it is termed; then let us see the character and scope of the other proclamation, and the orders of the Secretary of War, designed to give it practical effect, and having done so, let us examine the asserted source of these powers.

The proclamation of emancipation, if taken to mean what in terms it asserts, is an executive decree, that on the first day of January next, all persons held as slaves, within such States or parts of States as shall then be designated, shall cease to be lawfully held to service, and may by their own efforts and with the aid of the military power of the United States, vindicate their lawful right to their personal freedom.

The persons who are the subjects of this proclamation are held to service by the laws of the respective States in which they reside, enacted by State authority, as clear and unquestionable, under our system of Government, as any law passed by any State on any subject.

This proclamation, then, by an executive decree, proposes to repeal and annul valid State laws which regulate the domestic relations of their people. Such is the mode of operation of the decree.

The next observable characteristic is, that this executive decree holds out this proposed repeal of State laws as a threatened penalty for the continuance of a governing majority of the people of each State, or part of a State, in rebellion against the United States. So that the President hereby assumes to himself the power to denounce it as a punishment against the entire people of a State, that the valid laws of that State, which regulate the domestic condition of its inhabitants, shall become null and void, at a

certain future date, by reason of the criminal conduct of a governing majority of its people.

The penalty, however, it should be observed, is not to be inflicted on those persons who have been guilty of treason. The freedom of their slaves was already provided for by the act of Congress, recited in a subsequent part of the proclamation. It is not, therefore, as a punishment of guilty persons that the Commander-in-Chief decrees the freedom of slaves. It is upon the slaves of loyal persons, or of those who from their tender years or other disability, cannot be either disloyal or otherwise, that the proclamation is to operate, if at all; and it is to operate to set them free, in spite of the valid laws of their States, because a majority of the legal voters do not send Representatives to Congress.

Now, it is easy to understand how persons held to service under the laws of these States, and how the army and navy under the orders of the President, may overturn these valid laws of the States, just as it is easy to imagine that any law may be violated by physical force. But I do not understand it to be the purpose of the President to incite a part of the inhabitants of the United States to rise in insurrection against valid laws; but that, by virtue of some power which he possesses, he proposes to annul those laws, so that they are no longer to have any operation.

The second proclamation and the orders of the Secretary of War, which follow it, place every citizen of the United States under the direct military command and control of the President. They declare and define new offences, not known to any law of the United States. They subject all citizens to be imprisoned upon a military order, at the pleasure of the President, when, where, and so long as he, or whoever else is acting for him, may choose. They hold the citizen to trial before a military commission appointed by the President, or his representative, for such acts or omissions as the President may think proper to decree to be offences; and they subject him to such punishment as such military commission may be pleased to inflict. They create new offices, in such number, and whose occupants are to receive such compensation as the President may direct; and the holders of these offices, scattered through the States, but with one chief inquisitor at Washington, are to inspect and report upon the loyalty of the citizens, with a view to the above described proceedings against them when deemed suitable for the central authority.

Such is a plain and actual statement of the nature and extent of the powers asserted in these executive proclamations.

What is the source of these vast powers? Have they any limit? Are they derived from, or are they utterly inconsistent with, the Constitution of the United States?

The only supposed source or measure of these vast powers appears to have been designated by the President, in his reply to the address of the Chicago clergymen, in the following words: 'Understand, I raise no objection against it on legal or Constitutional grounds; for, as Commander-

in Chief of the Army and Navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy.' This is a clear and frank declaration of the President respecting the origin and extent of the power he supposes himself to possess: and, so far as I know, no source of these powers other than the authority of Commander-in-chief, in time of war, has ever been suggested.

There has been much discussion concerning the question whether the power to suspend the 'privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*' is conferred by the Constitution on Congress or on the President. The only judicial decisions which have been made upon this question have been adverse to the power of the President. Still, very able lawyers have endeavored to maintain—perhaps to the satisfaction of others have maintained—that the power to deprive a particular person of 'the privilege of the writ' is an executive power. For, while it has been generally, and, so far as I know, universally admitted, that Congress alone can suspend a law, or render it inoperative, and consequently, that Congress alone can prohibit the courts from issuing the writ, yet that the executive might, in particular cases, suspend or deny the privilege which the writ was designed to secure. I am not aware that any one has attempted to show that under this grant of power to suspend the 'privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*,' the President may annul the laws of States, create new offences, unknown to the laws of the United States, erect military commissions to try and punish them, and then, by a sweeping decree, suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* as to all persons who shall be 'arrested by any military authority.' I think he would make a more bold than wise experiment on the credulity of the people who should attempt to convince them that this power is to be found in the *habeas corpus* clause of the Constitution. No such attempt has been, and I think no such attempt will be made. And, therefore, I repeat, that no other source of this power has ever been suggested, save that described by the President himself, as belonging to him as the Commander-in-Chief.

It must be obvious to the meanest capacity that if the President of the United States has an implied Constitutional right, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, in time of war, to disregard any one positive prohibition of the Constitution, or to exercise any one power not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, because, in his judgment, he may thereby 'best subdue the enemy,' he has the same right, for the same reason, to disregard each and every provision of the Constitution, and to exercise all power needful, in his opinion, to enable him 'best to subdue the enemy.'

It has never been doubted that the power to abolish slavery within the States was not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, but was reserved to the States. If the President, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy in time of war, may, by an executive decree, exercise this power to abolish slavery in the States, which power was reserved to the States, because he is of opinion that he may thus 'best subdue the enemy,'

what other power, reserved to the States or to the people, may not be exercised by the President, for the same reason, that he is of opinion he may thus 'best subdue the enemy?' And if so, what distinction can be made between powers not delegated to the United States at all, and powers which, though thus delegated, are conferred by the Constitution upon some department of the Government other than the executive?

Indeed the proclamation of September 24, 1862, followed by the orders of the War Department, intended to carry it into practical effect, are manifest assumptions by the President of powers delegated to the Congress and to the judicial department of the Government. It is a clear and undoubted prerogative of Congress alone to define all offences, and to affix to each some appropriate and not cruel or unusual punishment. But this proclamation and these orders create new offences, not known to any law of the United States. 'Discouraging enlistments' and 'any disloyal practice,' are not offences known to any law of the United States. At the same time they may include, among many other things, acts which are offences against the laws of the United States, and, among others, treason. Under the Constitution and laws of the United States, except in cases arising in the land and naval forces, every person charged with an offence is expressly required to be proceeded against, and tried by the judiciary of the United States and a jury of his peers; and he is required by the Constitution to be punished in conformity with some act of Congress applicable to the offence proved, enacted before its commission. But this proclamation and these orders remove the accused from the jurisdiction of the judiciary; they substitute a report, made by some Deputy Provost Marshal, for the presentment of a grand jury; they put a military commission in place of a judicial court and jury required by the Constitution; and they apply the discretion of the commission and the President, fixing the degree and kind of punishment, instead of the law of Congress fixing the penalty of the offence.

It no longer remains to be suggested, that if the ground of action announced by the President be tenable, he *may*, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, use powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution: or *may* use powers by the Constitution exclusively delegated to the legislative and the judicial departments of the Government. These things have been already done, so far as the proclamation and orders of the President can effect them.

It is obvious that, if no private citizen is protected in his liberty by the safeguards thrown around him by the express provisions of the Constitution, but each and all of those safeguards may be disregarded, to subject him to military arrest upon the report of some Deputy Provost Marshal, and imprisonment at the pleasure of the President, and trial before a military commission and punishment at its discretion, because the President is of opinion that such proceedings 'best may subdue the enemy,' then all members of either house of Congress and every judicial officer is liable to

he proceeded against as a 'disloyal person,' by the same means and in the same way. So that, under this assumption concerning the implied powers of the President as Commander-in-chief in time of war, if the President shall be of opinion that the arrest and incarceration, and trial before a military commission of a judge of the United States, for some judicial decision, or of one or more members of either House of Congress for words spoken in debate, 'is a measure which may best subdue the enemy,' there is then conferred on him by the Constitution the rightful power so to proceed against such judicial or legislative officer.

This power is certainly not found in any express grant of power made by the Constitution to the President, nor even in any delegation of power made by the Constitution of the United States to any department of the Government. It is claimed to be found solely in the fact that he is the Commander-in-chief of its army and navy, charged with the duty of subduing the enemy. And to this end, as he understands it, he is charged with the duty of using, not only those great and ample powers which the Constitution and laws, and the self-devotion of the people in executing them, have placed in his hands, but charged with the duty of using powers which the people have reserved to the States, or to themselves; and is permitted to break down those great Constitutional safeguards of the partition of governmental powers, and the immunity of the citizen from mere executive control, which are at once both the end and the means of free government.

The necessary result of this interpretation of the Constitution is, that, in time of war, the President has any and all power which he may deem it necessary to exercise to subdue the enemy; and that every private and personal right of individual security against mere executive control, and every right reserved to the States or the people, rests merely upon Executive discretion.

But the military power of the President is derived solely from the Constitution, and it is as sufficiently defined there as his purely civil power. These are its words: 'The President shall be the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States.'

This is his military power. He is the General-in-chief, and as such, in prosecuting war, may do what Generals in the field are allowed to do, within the sphere of their actual operations in subordination to the laws of their country, from which alone they derive their authority.

When the Constitution says that the President shall be the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States, does it mean that he shall possess military power and command over all citizens of the United States? that, by military edicts, he may control all citizens as if enlisted in the army, or navy, or in the militia called into the actual service of the United States? Does it mean that he may make him-

self a legislator, and enact penal laws governing the citizens of the United States, and erect tribunals, and create offices to enforce his penal edicts upon citizens? Does it mean that he may, by a prospective executive decree, repeal and annul the laws of the several States, which respect subjects reserved by the Constitution for the exclusive action of the States and the people? The President is the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, not only by force of the Constitution, but under and subject to the Constitution, and to every restriction therein contained, and to every law enacted by its authority, as completely and clearly as the private in his ranks.

He is General-in-chief; but can a General-in-chief disobey any law of his own country? When he can, he superadds to his rights as commander the powers of a usurper; and that is military despotism. In this noise of arms have we become deaf to the warning voices of our fathers, to take care that the military shall always be subservient to the civil powers? Instead of listening to these voices, some persons now seem to think that it is enough to silence objection, to say, true enough, there is no civil right to do this or that, but it is a military act. They seem to have forgotten that every military act is to be tested by the Constitution and laws of the country under whose authority it is done. And that under the Constitution and laws of the United States, no more than under the Government of Great Britain, or under any free or any settled Government, the mere authority to command an army is not an authority to disobey the laws of the country.

The framers of the Constitution thought it wise that the powers of the Commander-in-chief of the military forces of the United States should be placed in the hands of the chief civil magistrate. But the powers of the Commander-in-chief are in no degree enhanced or varied by being conferred upon the same officer who has important civil functions. If the Constitution had provided that a Commander-in-chief should be appointed by Congress, his powers would have been the same as the military powers of the President now are. And what would be thought by the American people of an attempt by a General-in-chief to legislate by his decrees for the people and the State?

Besides, all the powers of the President are executive merely. He can not make a law. He cannot repeal one. He can only execute the laws. He can neither make, nor suspend, nor alter them. He cannot even make an article of war. He may govern the army, either by general or special orders, but only in subordination to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and the articles of war enacted by the legislative power.

The time has certainly come when the people of the United States must understand, and must apply those great rules of civil liberty which have been arrived at by the self-devoted efforts of thought and action of their ancestors, during seven hundred years of struggle against arbitrary power. If they fail to understand and apply them, if they fail to hold every branch

of their Government steadily to them, who can imagine what is to come out of this great and desperate struggle? The military power of eleven of these States being destroyed—what then? What is to be their condition? What is to be our condition?

Are the great principles of free Government to be used and consumed as means of war? Are we not wise enough and strong enough to carry on this war to a successful military end without submitting to the loss of any one great principle of liberty? We are strong enough. We are wise enough, if the people and their servants will but understand and observe the just limits of military power.

What, then, are those limits? They are these: There is military law; there is martial law. Military law is that system of laws enacted by the legislative power for the government of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States. It has no control whatever over any person or any property of any citizen. It could not even apply to the teamsters of an army, save by force of the express provisions of the laws of Congress, making such persons amenable thereto. The persons and the property of private citizens of the United States are as absolutely exempted from the control of military law as they are exempted from the control of the laws of Great Britain.

But there is also martial law. What is this? It is the will of a military commander, operating, without any restraint, save his judgment, upon the lives, upon the property, upon the entire social and individual condition of all over whom the law extends. But, under the Constitution of the United States, over whom does such law extend?

Will any one be bold enough to say, in view of the history of our ancestors and ourselves, that the President of the United States can extend such law as that over the entire country, or over any defined geographical part thereof, save in connection with some particular military operations which he is carrying on there? Since Charles I. lost his head, there has been no king in England who could make such law in that realm. And where is there to be found, in our history, or our Constitution, either State or national, any warrant for saying, that a President of the United States has been empowered by the Constitution to extend martial law over the whole country, and to subject thereby to his military power every right of every citizen? He has no such authority.

In time of war, a military commander, whether he be the Commander-in-chief or one of his subordinates, must possess and exercise powers both over the persons and the property of citizens which do not exist in time of peace. But he possesses and exercises such powers not in spite of the Constitution and laws of the United States, or in derogation from their authority, but in virtue thereof and in strict subordination thereto. The General who moves his army over private property in the course of his operations in the field, or who impresses into the public service means of

transportation or subsistence, to enable him to act against the enemy, or who seizes persons within his lines as spies, or destroys supplies in immediate danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, uses authority unknown to the Constitution and laws of the United States in time of peace, but not unknown to that Constitution and those laws in time of war.

The power to declare war includes the power to use the customary and necessary means effectually to carry it on. As Congress may institute a state of war, it may legislate into existence and place under executive control the means for its prosecution. And, in time of war, without any special legislation, not the Commander-in-chief only, but every commander of an expedition, or of a military post, is lawfully empowered by the Constitution and laws of the United States to do whatever is necessary and is sanctioned by the laws of war, to accomplish the lawful objects of his command. But it is obvious that this implied authority must find early limits somewhere. If it were admitted that a commanding General in the field might do whatever in his discretion might be necessary to subdue the enemy, he could levy contributions to pay his soldiers; he could force conscripts into his service; he could drive out of the entire country all persons not desirous to aid him—in short, he would be the absolute master of the country for the time being.

No one has ever supposed—no one will now undertake to maintain—that the Commander-in-chief, in time of war, has any such lawful authority as this. What, then, is his authority over the persons and property of citizens? I answer that, over all persons enlisted in his forces he has military power and command; that over all persons and property *within the sphere of his actual operations in the field*, he may lawfully exercise such restraint and control as the successful prosecution of his particular military enterprise may, in his honest judgment, absolutely require; and upon such persons as have committed offences against any article of war he may, through appropriate military tribunals, inflict the punishment prescribed by law. And there his lawful authority ends.

The military power over citizens and their property is a power to *act* not a power to prescribe rules for *future* action. It springs from present pressing emergencies, and is limited by them. It cannot assume the functions of the statesman or legislator, and make provision for future or distant arrangements by which persons or property may be made subservient to military uses. It is the physical force of an army in the field, and may control whatever is so near as to be actually reached by that force, in order to remove obstructions to its exercise.

But when the military commander controls the persons or property of citizens who are beyond the sphere of his actual operations in the field, when he makes laws to govern their conduct, he becomes a legislator. Those laws may be made actually operative; obedience to them may be enforced by military power; their purpose and effect may be solely to recruit or support his armies, or to weaken the power of the enemy with

whom he is contending. But he is a legislator still, and whether his edicts are clothed in the form of proclamations or of military orders, by whatever name they may be called, they are laws. If he have the legislative power conferred on him by the people, it is well. If not, he usurps it.

He has no more lawful authority to hold all the citizens of the entire country, outside of the sphere of his actual operations in the field, and amenable to his military edicts, than he has to hold all the property of the country subject to his military requisitions. He is not the military commander of the citizens of the United States, but of its soldiers.

Apply these principles to the proclamations and orders of the President. They are not designed to meet an existing emergency in some particular military operation in the field; they prescribe future rules of action touching the persons and property of citizens. They are to take effect, not merely within the scope of military operations in the field, or in their neighborhood, but throughout the entire country, or great portions thereof. Their subject matter is not military offences, or military relations, but civil offences and domestic relations; the relation of master and servant; the offences of 'disloyalty or treasonable practices.' Their purpose is not to meet some existing and instant military emergency, but to provide for distant events, which may or may not occur; and whose connections, if they should coincide with any particular military operations are indirect, remote, casual and possible merely.

It is manifest that in proclaiming these edicts, the President is not acting under the authority of military law; first, because military law extends only over the persons actually enlisted in the military service, and second, because these persons are governed by laws enacted by the legislative power. It is equally manifest that he is not acting under that implied authority which grows out of particular actual military operations; for these executive decrees do not spring from the special emergencies of any particular military operations, and are not limited to any field in which any such operations are carried on.

Whence, then, do these edicts spring? They spring from the assumed power to extend martial law over the whole territory of the United States; a power, for the exercise of which by the President, there is no warrant whatever in the Constitution, a power which no free people could confer upon an executive officer, and remain a free people. For it would make him the absolute master of their lives, their liberties, and their property, with power to delegate his mastership to such satraps as he might select, or as might be imposed on his credulity or his fears. Amid the great dangers which encompass us, in our struggles to encounter them, in our natural eagerness to lay hold of efficient means to accomplish our vast labors, let us beware how we borrow weapons from the armory of arbitrary power. They cannot be wielded by the hands of a free people. Their blows will finally fall upon themselves.

Distracted councils, divided strength, are the very earliest effects of an

attempt to use them. What lies beyond, no patriot is now willing to attempt to look upon.

A leading and influential newspaper, while expressing entire devotion to the President, and approbation of his proclamation of emancipation, says: 'The Democrats talk about unconstitutional acts. Nobody pretends that this act is constitutional, and nobody cares whether it is or not.'

I think too well of the President to believe he has done an act involving the lives and fortunes of millions of human beings, and the entire social condition of a great people, without caring whether it is conformable to that Constitution which he has many times sworn to support.

Among all the causes of alarm which now distress the public mind, there are few more terrible to reflecting men than the tendency to lawlessness which is manifesting itself in so many directions. No stronger evidence of this could be afforded than the open declaration of a respectable and widely circulated journal, that 'nobody cares whether a great public act of the President of the United States is in conformity with, or is subversive of the supreme law of the land—the only basis upon which the Government rests; that our public affairs have become so desperate, and our ability to retrieve them by the use of honest means is so distrusted, and our willingness to use other means so undaunted, that our great public servants may themselves break the fundamental laws of the country, and become usurpers of vast powers not entrusted to them, in violation of their solemn oath of office, and 'nobody cares.'

It is not believed that this is just to the people of the United States. They do care, and the President cares, that he and all other public servants should obey the Constitution. Partisan journals, their own honest and proper desire to support the President—on whose wisdom and firmness they rely to relieve their country from its evils and dangers—and the difficulties which the mass of the people encounter in forming opinions on questions of constitutional law, may prevent them, for a limited time, from arriving at a just judgment of such questions, or of the vast practical effects dependent on them.

But the people of the United States do not expect national concord to spring from usurpations of power; or national security from the violations of those great principles of public liberty, which are the only possible foundation, in this country, of private safety and public order. Their instincts demand a purer and more comprehensive statesmanship than that which seizes upon unlawful expedients, because they may possibly avert for the moment some threatening danger at the expense of the violation of great principles of free government, or of the destruction of some necessary safeguard of individual security.

It is a subject of discussion in the public journals whether it is the intention of the Executive to use the powers asserted in the last proclamation and in the orders of the Secretary of War to suppress free discussion of political subjects. I have confidence in the purity and the patriotism both

of the President and of the Secretary of War. I fear no such present applications of this proclamation and these orders by them. But the execution of such powers must be entrusted to subordinate agents, and it is of the very essence of arbitrary power that it should be in hands which can act promptly and efficiently, and unchecked by form. These great powers must be confided to persons actuated by party, or local, or personal feelings and prejudices; or, what would often prove as ruinous to the citizen, actuated by a desire to commend their vigilance to their employers, and by a blundering and stupid zeal in their service.

But it is not this or that particular application of power which is to be considered. It is the existence of the power itself, and the uses of which it is susceptible, while following out the principle on which it has been assumed.

The uses of power, even in despotic monarchies, are more or less controlled by usages and customs, or in other words, by public opinion. In good hands, and in favorable times, despotic power is not commonly allowed to be felt to be oppressive; and, always, the forms of a free Government, which has once existed, so far as is practicable, are carefully and speciously preserved. But a wise people does not trust its condition and rights to the happy accident of favorable times or good hands. It is jealous of power. It knows that of all earthly things it is that thing most likely to be abused; and when it affects a nation most destructive by its abuse, they will rouse themselves to consider what is the power claimed; what is its origin; what is its extent; what uses may be made of it in dangerous times, and by men likely to be produced in such times; and while they will trust their public servants, and will pour out their dearest blood like water to sustain them in their honest measures for their country's salvation, they will demand of those servants obedience to their will, as expressed in the fundamental laws of the Government, to the end that there shall not be adduced to all the sufferings and losses they have uncomplainingly borne, that most irreparable of all earthly losses—the ruin of the principles of their free Government.

What, then, is to be done? Are we to cease our utmost efforts to save our country, because its Chief Magistrate seems to have fallen, for the time being, into what we believe would be fatal errors if persisted in by him and acquiesced in by ourselves? Certainly not. Let the people but be right, and no President can long be wrong; nor can he effect any fatal mischief if he should be.

The sober second thought of the people has yet a controlling power. Let this gigantic shadow, which has been evoked out of the powers of Commander-in-chief, once be placed before the people, so that they can see clearly its proportions and its mein, and it will dissolve and disappear like the morning cloud before the rising sun.

The people yet can and will take care by legitimate means, without disturbing any principle of the Constitution, or violating any law, or relaxing

any of their utmost efforts for their country's salvation, that their will, embodied in the Constitution, shall be obeyed. If it needs amendment, they will amend it themselves. They will suffer nothing to be added to it, or taken from it, by any other power than their own. If they should, neither the Government itself, nor any right under it, will any longer be theirs."

The Constitutional doctrine in this article, out-spoken as it is, at this conjuncture of our national affairs, is a landmark for the anchorage of the Ship of State, ere she founders on her perilous and unknown voyage of discovery for new lights. We had hoped that common sense was the birthright inheritance of every American, of which he might boast, and that each one had an honest and common understanding. In review of past events as concern a great people, when we take into consideration the Abolition party affiliated with the Republican party, and the latter with the former, for the purpose of nominating a man as candidate for the Presidentage, and electing him on the Chicago Platform, the main features of which are in opposition to the Constitution, in spirit and letter, we feel pained that men can become so recreant to the sacred trust of their ancestors. The Constitution of the United States is a whole instrument for government accepted by all the States, not fragmental parts for parties, in after times, to select what pleases them and reject the balance. In order to arrive at just conclusions with reference to the influence of party politics to have brought about our present troubles, we will take a philosophical constitutional view of the Republican Platform, which was formed and adopted during the period the Republican Convention were in session, May 16, 1860, as to be their basis of action in the administration of the Government of the United States, when that party came into power.

It is as follows, to-wit:

"*Resolved*, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution: that all *men are created equal*; that they are *endowed* by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and *servant* to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new *dogma* that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political *heresy*, at variance with the *explicit provisions* of that *instrument itself*, with cotemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is *revolutionary* in its tendency, and *subversive* of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the Territories of the United States is that of freedom: That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that '*no person should*

be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we *deny* the *authority* of Congress or a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to *give legal existence* to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of Non-intervention and Popular Sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which *secures* to the *working men* liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the Free Homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure, which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to emigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, *are authorized* by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by

the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government *ought* to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmances and support."

Upon the motion to adopt this report, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, moved the previous question. This motion caused great excitement, and loud calls were made to withdraw the motion; but Mr. C. insisted on his motion. Mr. Giddings was particularly earnest in his appeal to his colleague to withdraw it, but with no effect.

The vote was then taken as to whether the Convention would sustain the call of the previous motion, with the following result:

	<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Maine.....	1	14
Vermont.....	0	10
New Hampshire.....	0	10
Massachusetts.....	4	21
Connecticut.....	1	11
Rhode Island.....	0	8
New York.....	25	45
New Jersey.....	12½	1½
Delaware.....	4	2
Maryland.....	0	11
Virginia.....	17	6
Pennsylvania.....	½	53½
Ohio.....	24	18
Kentucky.....	10	10
Indiana.....	20	6
Illinois.....	14	8
Michigan.....	8	4
Wisconsin.....	8	2
Missouri.....	0	18
Iowa.....	2	6
Texas.....	0	6
California.....	0	8
Oregon.....	2	2
Kansas.....	0	6
Nebraska.....	2	4
Minnesota.....	0	8
District of Columbia.....	0	2
	155	300

So the Convention refused to sustain the previous question.

Mr. Giddings then moved the adoption of the following as a substitute for the first section of the platform: That we solemnly re-affirm these self-evident truths: that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that Governments were formed for the protection of these rights. Mr. Giddings then made an earnest speech in favor of his substitute, but upon a vote, the Convention rejected it by a decided majority.

Mr. Wilmot made some inquiry as to the questions involved in the 14th section of the platform in relation to naturalized citizens, the only effect of which was to give an opportunity for two very pretty and eloquent speeches from Messrs. Shurz, of Wisconsin, and Hapaureck, of Cincinnati, both leaders among the German Republicans. Mr. G. W. Curtis, of New York, then moved to insert the words of the Declaration of Independence, formerly proposed by Mr. Giddings, in the 2d section of the platform, and maintained his position in a very earnest and a very firm speech, that told with great effect upon the auditors. The motion was carried by a large majority.

The platform was then adopted amid a perfect *furor* of applause."

The Republican Chicago Platform, of May 16, 1860, upon which the Republican party elected their candidate to the Presidency that year is thus presented before us for consideration; and we shall shortly consider it, with reference to its constitutional bearing on the people of the United States. Consequently, in the furtherance of this object, the following portions of the Constitution, touching slaves in the slave States, we submit to candid and considerate men, to know if the Constitution would be complete, were these portions forced literally, or by erasure from that instrument? These portions are quoted from the Constitution as here presented, in the form of extracts, concerning the inalienable rights of the slave States under that instrument.

The first extract is clause 3, under section 2, of article 1:

"Representatives and direct taxes *shall be apportioned* among the several States which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the *whole number of free persons*, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*"

The second extract is:

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding ten dollars for *each person.*" (See clause 1, section 9, article 1.)

The third extract is:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered

up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." (See clause 3, section 2, article 4).

The fourth extract is :

"Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to *prejudice* any *claims* of the United States, or of any particular State." (See clause 2, section 3, article 4).

The fifth extract is :

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." (See clause 2, article 6, Miscellaneous).

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The sixth extract is :

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." (See article 9.)

The seventh extract is :

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." (See article 10).

With these Constitutional extracts before us, we propose to enter into a short philosophical analysis of them; and, in the first place, we would ask, if they compose the expressed and fully defined landmarks of the Constitution, as occupying their relative positions, or do they do not? and would the Constitution be *one* to all the people of the United States, without these portions we have thus quoted? It received its adoption by the States to be a perpetual fundamental system of government, as a whole, not in part. Hence, we see that these extracts are active portions of the Constitution, so long as it may exist, without their being annulled by three-fourths of the States; this could be done under the provision of article 5 of Amendments. And until the Constitution is altered with respect to these extracts, every portion of it constitutes its primordial and fundamental law of the land. (See clause 2, article 6).

In view of clause 3, section 2, article 1, of the Constitution, the apportionment of representation and direct taxes is considered a perpetual mandate of that instrument, for the term "shall" is applied, and to one State no more than to another, but to all alike. How, then, is the apportionment determined? See the above clause 3. The term "shall" is *here* applied again. Three-fifths of all others in this clause, and in this one sentence, mean the slave population in the slave States, and this mandate as to three-fifths is as obligatory, as perpetual, and as fundamental as any portion of the Constitution. This right is as perpetual to the Southern States as the

Constitution itself in its present form. It goes with the Constitution wherever it goes into the Territories, for it would be unreasonable and unphilosophical to suppose that that instrument lost a portion of its rights, as to certain States, in its progress over the extension of territory. If it should lose its rights to certain States as herein philosophically and constitutionally seen it would, were it limited, then why not all, and still all is the Constitution! Can there be minds so narrow as not to see and comprehend the full letter, spirit, objects, rights and mandates of the clause in question? Take from this clause "three fifths of all other persons," in the way of representation and direct taxation; and then would it, bearing the letter and spirit of the instrument in mind, be the Constitution it now is to the slave States? Common sense will answer this.

The Constitution sanctions slavery as a basis of Congressional representation; consequently in the territory before it becomes a State, if people from slave States should enter such territory with slaves, three-fifths of them and their masters are entitled to consideration through their delegation in Congress, as much as those who have none. There is no clause in the Constitution which can be applied to legislate the slave and master out of the territory by Congress, any more than there is to legislate a horse and man out of such from a free State; and common sense would say that that instrument contemplated that some of the people would have, under all circumstances, coming from slave States, such basis for representation. Hence, from the letter and spirit of the Constitution, Congress, having no discretion in the case, must protect the slaveholders in the use of such property, because taxation is based on representation, and it must protect what it taxes, or else it could not long tax.

In the great fundamental founding of our Constitutional rights, and of the basis of representation in Congress, and of taxation in accordance with representation, can we find a clause in the Constitution, or a single word embraced in its whole contour, that would warrant an infringement upon the third clause, section 2, of article I, as to three fifths of the slaves being a basis for representation in our National Legislature? No such clause nor word can be found; in the purchase of more domain, and in the organization of it into territories for white settlement, there is no clause prohibiting property, of whatever kind, from going into such territory; and does the Constitution recognize a thing as property under any circumstance, without, in spirit, granting the means of protecting it in like cases? The great object of the Constitution was, and is, to secure protection to our liberties, lives, and *possessions*; and in the Convention that formed it no regard was paid to any sections of the Colonies or States, in contradistinction to other portions. Its burthens, as well as privileges, were conceived and adjusted to bear on all *pro rata*. No blind fanatic will deny this interpretation of the Constitution; hence, in our philosophy of reason upon slavery and the constitutional rights which it should enjoy uninterrupted under the Constitution, we feel authorized, by its letter and spirit, to scrup-

minize the declarations, devices, and plots of parties that would, by these manifestations, indicate a disposition and determination to invade, supplant, or erase, in their choice of men for high positions, any of the clauses of the Constitution, which we have only just quoted.

The first clause of section 2, under article 1, contemplates slavery in the States, and grants them certain immunities as to importing blacks or persons of color, using the term *persons* to express its purpose. In this respect the Constitution grants certain qualified rights to the States generally, without expressing the power in any of its clauses to abolish those rights within the States at any time, but it limits the rights as to importing blacks into the States up to the year 1808, when they shall cease to exist. Up to this time this traffic was legal and constitutional, and the Government received ten dollars per head on each one imported. The spirit of this clause knew that the negroes thus imported would increase, and that the territory was common property under the control of the supreme law of the land—the Constitution. Wherefore, that instrument, through representation and direct taxation, was organized to guard and protect all interests alike, which are not unconstitutional; slavery was not then. The Constitution, up to 1808, was accessory to the States in the importation of negroes into the States; for the Government received the sum of ten dollars per head, and thus if the former committed a crime against humanity, so did the latter, on the same principle of reasoning. The effects of this clause, so far as the Constitution is concerned, are as perpetual and constitutional now as immediately upon its operation after having been formed.

The third clause of section 2, under article 4, contemplates the escape of slaves from their masters into the free States; hence arises its protective purpose. It is as old as the Constitution, is a part of that instrument, and was then made in view of there being free and slave States; it is protective of certain *property* in all its tendencies, and can be erased only in a constitutional manner for amending that instrument; otherwise it goes with and pleads its execution upon common rights guaranteed by the Constitution to those States holding slaves. Hence slavery is a reserved right of the State choosing it; and when a State passes a law permitting the introduction of slavery, can it, by Convention or otherwise, pass a law abolishing it constitutionally, which, with regard to State contracts with her citizens, would, in all its tendency, be *ex-post-facto*? The learned in constitutional law may think of this.

The second clause of section 3, under article 4, is full of meaning, and such as we want. In view of the clauses which we have so far quoted and discussed, concerning the constitutionality of slavery, could Congress constitutionally legislate slavery out or in the organized territories of the Government? Certainly not. Wherefore, under those clauses just quoted, Congress has an interest in slavery from representation, direct taxation, and a more binding interest from the Government having received, from its formation up to 1808, the sum of ten dollars per head on the negroes

imported. The sum was paid in each State that imported, and the interest on it is a perpetual admonisher of the General Government that it has slave interest as much to watch in the territories as any other interest, till a territory may have citizens enough to become a State. The Constitution knew that slaves would increase in numbers like whites; hence, in view of the clauses quoted, could it permit a Congress in any manner to control its express letter and spirit, which would annihilate the slave interest in perpetuity, and the partnership between the slave and free States in that instrument, so far as regards protection and equal rights. Hence, an organized territory is common property to all the States, and an exclusive law passed by Congress would be unconstitutional. And the latter part of the clause says, "and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State." Is this not a prohibition against any acts of Congress acting in opposition to the general interests of States? for one State has the same right to territory *with what* it possesses within its own limits as another, or the organized territory would not be common property. The second clause of article 6 makes the Constitution the supreme law of the land, which was accepted as it now reads. In full view of constitutional law, based upon that instrument, and of that itself, without any constitutional proposition having come before the people of the States in due form, how can we view the Republican Platform, concocted and made at Chicago in the month of May, 1860, as a whole, and more especially declaration 7 and declaration 8? These two declarations form a constituent portion of the Republican Chicago Platform for the election of the Republican party's candidate to the Presidentage. Contrasted with the clauses just quoted from the Constitution, securing, guarding and defending the institution of slavery as much, if not more, than any other interest in the country, those declarations, the effusions of fanatics, concocted, weighed and adjusted in that platform, were and have been conspiring to overthrow constitutional safeguards, rights and prerogatives, which that instrument vouchsafes as the heritage of every American citizen.

The power to make these declarations 7 and 8 embraced, as seen in that platform, did not emanate from the people in the States to propose, in due form, alterations in the Constitution; for their main object was the nomination of a man as candidate for the Presidentage, but not to announce a will to destroy any of the clauses of the Constitution. Therefore, the members of the Chicago Convention meeting in that city, May, 1860, transcended, in the adoption of these two declarations to form a portion of their platform, the constitutional safeguards which we have heretofore quoted and discussed. As compared with the clauses quoted from the Constitution, those declarations breathe a perfect contempt to the letter and spirit of that instrument; and as now seen and analyzed, they indicate nothing but conspiracy and anarchy, for they were foreign to the purpose of the Convention, as chosen by the people. Hence, if we trace history far back

to find a name for the members of that Convention, how many of its members would out-Catiline Catiline, in all the purposes to which the human mind can give rise in favor of anarchy and revolutions? The plot, the purpose open and bold, the object and device, were all carefully couched and adjusted in those declarations. Common sense and common reason can see these facts, if they will compare, as we have heretofore remarked. For avowing and declaring such principles as are contained in those declarations, anarchal in purpose, and subversive of the Constitution, can they be viewed by candid and good men in any other light than as conspirators against that instrument? We speak fearlessly, for we fear not man. We speak as we know the letter and spirit of the Republican Chicago Platform, and that of the Constitution of the United States, which have been under review. God knows what will become of those conspirators that formed the platform in question, and history will tell us, or future ages; but what shall be their doom on earth, a just and good people will ere long determine. We see our dim star rising, dipped in brothers' blood! Let us hasten to behold it with all its past splendor, in the full march to national greatness, purified, and with every ism forever entombed that obstructs and annihilates industrial pursuits, peace, and security to happiness. The normal condition of the inhabitants of the continent of America, so far as history tells us about the customs and usages of the Indians, was that of slavery, in contradistinction to declaration 8 of the Republican Chicago Platform. It was the case in South America, as well as Central, in Mexico, the West Indies, and North America. See Abbe'D Francisco Saverio Clavigero's history of Mexico in Italian, translated into English by Charles Cullen, Esq., vol. 2, p. 154. See Prescott's History of Peru, vol. I, p. 50. In this case the Inca made laws, obliging the people to work his lands, set apart for himself, under the impression of working for their god. This service of the people descended from generation to generation with the ruling Potentate. Such might be called acute slavery, as pains are called, not unfrequently, *acute*. And further, see the History of Brazil by Robert Southey, an Englishman, printed in London in 1817, in three volumes. From these, with Spanish and Portuguese works read on this subject, with reference to their portions of the continent of America, we feel warranted in our above statement of the normal condition of the aboriginals of the American continent. However, if it should be discovered by those eagle-eyed members of the Republican Chicago Platform that the northern portion of the American continent, and especially New England, was not adapted to extensive agricultural pursuits, and consequently not to slavery, which the Indians followed and adopted in the tropics of America, will they have enough modesty and less impudence, that they may reconcile themselves to the melancholy fact that even their pretty New England, or portion, was not, nor is the vast heart of the continent, but that cold, inhospitable region, where native genius was content with fishing, hunting, and planting a patch here and

there, like unto the New England genius, in contradistinction to that mild climate where the bounties of nature could be more readily produced. Therefore, from the preceding, if slavery, among the Indians, was not reduced so much to practice in the northern portion of the American continent, it was owing not to *principle* as at *present*, but to the want of adaptation in point of climate and refinement among the Indians. For, among the tropical Indians of America, we have observed that slavery existed; and it is to them alone among the aboriginals on this vast continent that we can ascribe a high degree of comparative intelligence in mechanism, manufacturing and agriculture, and also, in the arts of Government. When we speak of a country being or having been rich in agriculture, we do not speak of its Pilgrim Rocks nor sand hills, and so on; but when we speak of the normal condition of the aboriginals of America having been that of slavery, we speak of the heart or tropical portion of the continent, not viewing the *extremities* worth much, without the *heart*, but *rather dependent upon it*. The phraseology of declaration 8 of that platform is unmeaning as it reads, or in other words, it is the merest nonsense; for who ever heard of the normal condition of territories being in a state of freedom or slavery? as if they were subject to compliance or non-compliance, like animate existence. The members of that Convention unquestionably had reference to the normal condition of the inhabitants of the territories, etc.; but they lacked fullness and precision in expression, as all the actions of the Republican party too plainly indicate. They are, as the Hon. D. S. Dickinson of New York, in his palmy days, portrayed them, which fact we have inserted heretofore in this work. If *Congress* did abolish slavery, or ordain that it should not exist in the Northwest Territory in 1787, was it ever acted upon by three-fourths of the States, so as to become constitutional? We have never seen the constitutionality of that act, and deny its existence in any form in the Constitution or in its amendments.

In the latter part of the second clause of section 3, under article 4, of the Constitution, we find this: "And nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any *claims* of the United States or of any of the States." Now, in this view, if Congress could legislate slavery out of any of the territories of the United States, would it not *prejudice* the *claims* of the *slave States* to territory for settlement with *what they constitutionally possess*? Hence, if Congress should legislate thus, it would be unconstitutional, and not binding on the people, for only laws made in accordance with that instrument are to be respected and obeyed.

For the purpose of argument, if we should admit declaration 8 of the Republican Chicago Platform correct, with regard to the normal condition of the territories as therein stated, we see no point gained; for preceding and with slavery, the Europeans brought to the wilds of America a higher and broader civilization and enlightenment than was discovered on this Western Continent. Hence, from this circumstance alone, letting

the position of that declaration be true, as we have not borrowed from the Indians their savage barbarism in manners, customs and usages, we must assuredly feel proud that we have not borrowed from them such a Divine-like institution, as we have proved it to be in the second part of this work. According to verse 28th of the first chapter of Genesis, with which every one is familiar, man could not "subdue" the earth, unless God made subservient to him all else, and gave him complete "dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." In no sense do we admit that Indian slavery, unto each other, was like the African slavery, unto the Caucasian, for we see no clause in the order of creation where they would be thus *privileged*; it is with them merely an *assumption* of power over each other in certain cases, wherein there is no divine right. The same assumption the white man has tried to make steadfast over his fellow white man; the Mongolian over the Mongolian; the Malay over the Malay; and the African over the African; yet none of these conditions are as natural, physiologically and ethnologically, as the dominion of the white man over the African, which we have heretofore fully discussed, to suit the most fastidious temperament.

In accordance with the Declaration of Independence, the Republican Abolition party, in declaration 8 of their platform in May, 1860, state that "all men are born free and equal," contending by this clause that that Declaration had reference to existences of colors, like the Mongolian, Indian, Malay and African, with the Caucasian. If such had been the intent in the Constitution to have placed those existences of colors in equal fellowship with the whites, why do we see that all past legislation based upon constitutional State principles, as well as that upon United States constitutional principles, forbid, in their very letter and spirit, such equality in the rites of marriage—in the representation in Congress, except indirectly through three-fifths of the numbers of slaves in each of the slave States, in the persons of white men, and in the rendition of a person fugitive from labor, who, on leaving the State where such labor may be due, has no choice like a white man. Such restrictions, with the almost universal aversion to allowing negroes to vote in the free States, and with their ineligibility to hold office of any kind, debar them from the full privileges of a white man; and even the privilege of voting and sending their children at the same school with the whites, has been brought about more by *fanaticism* than by the exercise of common sense, in some of the free States. It is an unreliable and unnatural ebullition of the men, who, in the course of great events, figure for a short time, but leave nothing lasting of their short sway on earth. The very terms used to express the letter of the Constitution, as found in clause 3, section 2, article 1; in clause 1, section 2, article 1; and in clause 3, section 2, article 4; are strong constitutional grounds against Africans becoming citizens of the United States, and consequently voters in the States, as language can be made to express such intents. And in this view, can a State do more for a negro, constitution-

ally, as to giving him citizenship, or vote, than the Constitution of the United States does? If it could, then such State could force Congress to receive such black citizen as representative from the State in question. Hence see the conflict between such State constitution and that of the United States; and from this reasoning, all free States that grant constitutionally such privileges to negroes in their limits, make citizens of them to all intents and purposes, and conflict with the Constitution of the United States in this particular, as follows: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." In this view, if the State of New York should by her own Constitution, within her limits, allow a negro to vote, which would constitute him a citizen, and the State of Kentucky should, as her Constitution imports, declare a negro not a citizen, and consequently not a voter, which State would be right according to the Constitution of the United States? Common sense teaches us that when any free State, according to its Constitution, permits a negro to vote, constitutes him a citizen of the State in question, and of all the other States, free or slave, were such according to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States. Hence, such State becomes a usurper of the sacred rights of the other States in imposing on them what is unconstitutional. See clause 1, section 2, article 4, and also clause 3, section 2, article 1; clause 1, section 2, article 1; clause 3, section 2, article 4. The three clauses last mentioned are indestructible monuments, as lasting as the Constitution itself, and express the full meaning of *persons* or *person* used within their limits, to be African slaves, without any term, within their purviews, to denote citizens or citizen. For, in this view, persons or person is so fully and clearly expressed to mean a negro slave, held, as declared by State Constitutions, that, to raise a question is to doubt the most obvious intent of the Constitution of the United States. An honest and candid reading of these clauses will force the most obstinate mind to give full acquiescence to this irrefutable reasoning.

If *any free State* has, through her Constitution or Legislature, passed an act to constitute an African a citizen of such State, with the privilege of voting, the most sacred right of all; and if *any free State* has also passed an act to conflict with the third clause of section 2, article 4, as to hindering the rendition of the persons or person in question, "on claim of the party to whom such labor or service may be due," such State has knowingly, maliciously, and with forethought, plotted and conspired to commit sedition and treason against the Constitution of the United States, for she knows that a negro called citizen, living within her limits, is not entitled to citizenship in Kentucky or Maryland, as these States know no colored citizens. (see clause 1, section 2, article 4, of the Constitution); and that a fugitive must be given up "on claim of the party," with a sufficient testimony before the nearest tribunal, competent to hear or receive depositions. The owner or his agent, with a deposition, property

sealed, from the county in the State where the fugitive resides, should be, and is sufficient testimony before such tribunal, as to ownership. This matter is now presented in such form as to unmask those fell demons who have been at work to supplant the letter and spirit of our Constitution.

The great and primordial object of clause 1, section 2, article 4, of the Constitution, is to make the right of citizenship equal in each State, and hence, if in one or more of the free States a negro should be legally permitted to vote, according to the laws therein, for any official, and especially, an United States official, and if he should go into a slave State and take up his residence and remain there as long as it would take a white man to legally become a citizen or voter, would he not complain against the usages in this latter State, bearing the above clause in mind, if he were not permitted to vote as he did in the State whence he came? Aside from the letter of the Constitution, we will now turn to its spirit, and see how it may be interpreted. We do not question the right of any State, by an act of her Legislature, to grant a white foreigner the right of voting, after he has *properly* declared and filed his *intention* to become a citizen of the United States, according to the act of naturalization, for such man could not be excluded from the right of an elector or voter, *in any of the States*, when he shall have obtained his credentials of citizenship; and it is only a matter of *State courtesy* to allow him to vote after having resided six months or a year in the State where he filed his *intention* to become a citizen. It is prospective citizenship of the United States that the State has in view, when she permits him as a resident to vote; for as a mere resident he could not vote. Citizens of one State are not residents of other States which they happen to visit, but according to clause 1, section 2, article 4, they "shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Hence, what are they but citizens, in contradistinction to the term resident? Appropriately, and with a view of the spirit of the Constitution, resident means a foreigner who has not declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States. Hence, from this reasoning, and all our reasonings on this subject, to allow a negro to vote in a free State under a proper qualification or not, with no higher privilege, and against the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, as to a negro not being a citizen, according to the Constitution, is a political subterfuge, plot and conspiracy against the true spirit of that instrument. For see the political advantages in electing United States Representatives, and in choosing electors to vote for a candidate to become President. It gives the free States a numerical advantage which has no guarantee in view of the spirit of the Constitution. For a people to live in fellowship with each other, they must be honest, and must have definite terms and usages for the interpretation of their common Constitution; otherwise, internecine strife will dispel all hopes of harmony. No negro can vote in a slave State, free or slave. And a free negro in such State is viewed in the eye of the law in the same light as a foreigner who

has not filed his intention to become a citizen of the United States, having no political privileges, with this advantage in favor of the foreigner, that the door is ever open to him to become a citizen, but forever closed to the former.

In drawing our attention again to original matter, physiologically and ethnologically, the language of the first chapter of Genesis is plain, intelligible, and to the point upon which this work is based. There is nothing contradictory in it, for the whole of its contour portrays the unmistakable *design* of God, step by step, as *he* advanced in *his* progress of creation, and shows the why and manner of creating everything.

Therefore, in view of the order of creation, and of the Constitution of the United States, let us all look at our individual acts, North, South, East and West, both in a private and in an official capacity, and see if we have all come up to the spirit and letter of the order of creation and of the Constitution! Abolitionism and the curtailment of slavery within its present bounds, or the endeavor to fetter it in any form whatsoever, are high-handed infringements upon Divinity and the spirit and letter of the Constitution as heretofore demonstrated, and produce incalculable mischief, ruin and desolation in all their tendencies. There is no use to have the word of God, and a Constitution, and not come up to the spirit and letter of each; for our consciences tell us what we should do, in view of *organic law* and *conventional compacts*! These principles we know; we cannot dodge them; they are on us; we feel their pressure; and they will press us to the earth, unless we inquire into our faults, and redeem them by going back to primordial laws, such as govern the universe! Let the prayer of the nation be, "Let us wash our hands from the sins we have committed in violation of the plighted oaths we have taken upon that *Bible*, containing the *sacred order* to support the spirit and letter of that Constitution, which was formed by the wisdom of our fathers!" and what official, either high or low, can rise and say that he has done nothing to break that compact, either North or South, East or West? His recorded acts will tell, and they tell the tale of the widow and orphan's woe! Pause and reflect ere you raise your hands to let fall the awful blow! Let us unite, in every region of our once happy land, to inquire into the prospect and value of peace, and let this be as if by an electric shock, which will pervade simultaneously every State from the Rio Grande to the river St. Croix, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific! Let it be an earnest appeal to our God for *his* intervention, to return us again to our peaceful, happy, and prosperous homes, and to heal the wounds which have mentally alienated us from each other! If we would know and study ourselves, we would invite peace and harmony to crown the *order of creation*, and the letter and spirit of the Constitution! They are inseparable to our progress happiness and prosperity! True manliness, true patriotism, and true courage demand all this, and if they are not coming forth, we shall think that the nation, in its broadest extent, think and desire more brute

force than reason! Peace for all is cheaper than desolation, hence, let us have it upon the basis of the first chapter of Genesis and of the Constitution! These principles will suit all but radicals, who are *drones* in society, and who neither construct, nor are willing to let others construct their eternal salvation, happiness and prosperity on earth! It is useless, and perjury to take an oath on the Bible, or by affirmation, having in view the Creator, to support the Constitution, and then depart from it in any sense whatsoever! In this, there is reason founded in truth. We must be consistent, as God was consistent, in *his* organization of matter out of chaos, or else the storm will founder the proud Ship of State, and she will go down to rise under some *new form*, which it will be impossible for us to relish and feel secure upon in life, prosperity, and the pursuit of happiness!

We have never sought any office in the gift of the people of the United States, nor will accept of any; consequently, we shall avoid the too common contagion of officials' blasphemy and perjury respecting the order of creation and the letter and spirit of the Constitution, in their taking of their official oaths! The act of perjury has become so common in this respect that its consequences in the United States are now beginning to dawn with black desolation and hellish wantonness!

We want no higher office, nor any higher honor, than to be entitled to the term "reasoners" towards the restoration of peace, founded upon a perfect understanding of the order of creation, and the letter and spirit of the Constitution. We are American citizens in the fullest extent, and feel for the whole of America, not for one little section here and there, but all alike; and would to God that we Americans could govern it all with wise and wholesome laws, founded upon the *organic law* of God and the spirit of the Constitution! This is the spirit and progress which we would instil into the minds of Americans, with a most earnest endeavor to bring *order* out of chaos, and to return thanks unto our God for *his* wise creation of us, Caucasians, in *his* image and after *his* likeness! Would to God that *he* would paralyze our wantonness and departures from *his* order and the United States Constitution, and electrify each breast with a spirit of justness and honesty founded in natural law, that we all of us, Americans, rise from our present gloom, and astound the world besides, by our unanimity of action, and progress towards civilization and enlightenment, in subduing the earth and holding dominion over inferior and subordinate existences of colors! Reason and philosophy demand every American to submit to the principles of natural law; and where is there a more complete exposition of this law than we find in this work? It is based on reason, philosophy, physiology, phrenology, physiognomy, chemistry, ethnology, botany and anatomy. These are the principles upon which we have discussed and defended the position in this work, having in view both the order of creation and the spirit of the Constitution. We shall hope that these pleadings have not been made *in vain*; for during our labors in this

preparation of this work, we have kept in the ascendancy a pure devotion to the whole country, eschewing to be catered by false premises into a defence of what is opposed to Divine law and the Constitution. These we attest are our natural and conventional rights to defend, whenever and wherever we see them assailed by men of any station in life, from the throne to the peasant, or from the highest official in the gift of our people to the street beggar! To such as offend God and the Constitution, reason must go home on the couch of repose, startling them from their midnight reveries in hellish and black despair, and on the return of rosy morn, the pain and penalty of atheism arise to their understandings, while contending with their God! These are facts which bad men know, and good ones know how to avoid. Hence, let us, O our countrymen, reason and keep before us natural law and natural facts, and we shall yet crush the seeds of disintegration, which have abundantly grown, in every portion of our broad domain.

By the philosophy of reason based on the order of creation and the Constitution, let every American plumb his position, and see that there is no variation from the perpendicular; and in compliance with these facts, we shall dispel anarchy and confusion, rising still higher toward that perfection which God has vouchsafed to our enlightenment.

This work is intended as a manual of defence for those who love and obey their God, our Creator, and the Constitution, and to serve as a weapon to denounce eternal vengeance on atheists, the drones, and disorganizers of Divine and Constitutional authority! This class are set forth in this dissertation, with all their fiendish aims and subtle cunning. They must wither before reason and common sense like the autumn leaves or the Indians, that are fast passing away, with now and then a death struggle for mastery! This is their doom, for this fair earth was not made *in vain*!

Frequent allusions in this work are made to the first chapter of Genesis and the Constitution, which readers might think we should avoid; but it must be readily seen that these are our bulwarks, both offensive and defensive; and consequently, we have quoted them frequently, in order to keep their weight and importance before the readers; therefore, we hope to be excused for this apparent tautology, the object of which is to impress the sins upon the sinning, in such a manner as will make them feel to wash their hands from sin, and fit themselves for the *passage*. We are aware that thousands are Abolitionists and Emancipationists, and consequently atheists, or act with the leaders of these doctrines, without investigating for themselves the why of their giving credence; for the investigation of original matter and its chemical affinities is little sought after by such; and therefore they are ready for anything that is exciting to their untutored understandings! We also feel aware that this work will meet with the condemnation and ridicule of the above class; however, we view them with a perfect indifference, feeling that we have discharged *only* our full

duty to God and man, in our having proved them atheists, *men whose oaths*, taken as they may be, are against the order of creation and the letter and spirit of the Constitution; and consequently, they are no more nor less than blasphemy and perjury! This is the plain and unvarnished statement of their situation on earth! and oh, our God, what may it not be in heaven!

In a Government formed like ours, every citizen is entitled to consideration, and one as much as another. In this respect, every white man feels that, in point of privileged rights, no one is his superior; and therefore, his right of speaking or writing upon physical and constitutional subjects, with the endeavor to trace their origins from original matter, or in whatsoever light he pleases, provided it be moral, and within the limits of the compact, is a *perfect one*, at any conjuncture of events or circumstances; but the same cannot be accorded to those who oppose, by every word and deed, the order of creation and the Constitution. This is a point which should strike *home* to those atheists whom we have described; for they are traitors to our God and our country.

In this work, which as we see, extended to the public, we discover the letter and spirit of the creation and of the Constitution of the United States of North America. And which will you *choose*, our countrymen, at this conjuncture of our national affairs, in plain view of the philosophy of reason and common sense, when you see that prosperity, security for life, freedom of speech, and the pursuit of happiness in our several ways, have smiled upon us as a people, through the instrumentality of our acting according to the order of the creation up to within two years past, the *career marked out* by our venerable forefathers, or that inaugurated by Abolitionists, under any form? We have seen the effects of the former regimen! We are seeing the effects of the latter regimen! which appeals to our reasons and our understandings, in view of the past and present, when we contemplate the bare emancipation of four millions of negroes who are bound to *repain* among us, in defiance of any exertion to the contrary! In our own land, in Mexico, Central and South America, we have held before your eyes the picture of the war of races, which you all know to exist there in a form that is constantly wasting away national strength!

Such a war we have experienced in some of our cities, and such a war will be upon us, and will last as long as freedom lasts to those inferior and subordinate existences. In a State we have shown that the ruling race must be of one color, and to be happy, no other race can exist among them, except in a state of servitude. The Mongolians are commercial slaves to the Caucasians; and why? Have they a choice, except such as is dictated to them by a higher military genius than they possess? Their ports are forced open to the world, and kept open by the means of fleets and armies. Is this freedom such as we understand by the term? This is the condition of all the colored races or existences of whom we have any statistical or historical knowledge. The form of servitude matters

little; yet we cannot yield their absolute servitude, and act up to the letter and spirit of the order of creation and of the Constitution! We are advocating no policy for aristocracy, or for nabobs; we advocate and plead the execution of our national affairs, in accordance with the order of creation and with the Constitution, which we have explained to minds of common sense and common understanding! God, in his creation, has marked out the manner we should do, and if we rebel against this, we shall be held strictly to account for our rebellion. In varying from either of those organic laws we are in rebellion, and are rebels against God and the Constitution, and should be, as we shall be, held strictly accountable for such rebellion! There is no escaping this. It is a direct charge against those guilty of atheism—that is, Abolitionism, as we have heretofore defined it. It calls them to the bar of their God and of their country, to return their stewardship, for they are wasteful and ungrateful stewards. What would be the condition if one of the planets, the sun, moon, or one of the stars, should rebel against the organic law, which causes them respectively to revolve on their own axis? or if one should lose its power of gravitation, or its centripetal and centrifugal force? Common sense teaches us the consequences of such among the hosts of heaven, and that, long continued, each would absolve itself from organic law, and hence all would be confusion! Let us apply this teaching to the nations of the earth, and we see examples of it in the United States, Mexico, Central and South America.

Before you, our countrymen, we have painted in unchangeable colors the actors of the Inquisition of Spain, *in the principles* that are fast leading us to it by spies and fawning sycophants; representatives of the Salem witchcraft, with religious persecution; the order of creation as God ordained *his* workmanship; and the creators of the Constitution of the United States; now, in full view of all these actors on the stage of life; in full view of the benefits we have enjoyed, in having pursued the latter for awhile; and in full view of our present difficulties, death scenes, desolation in vast districts of country, rape and rapine, in pursuing the former, which among them will you choose for your future pilots on the chart of the ocean of life? those who have no compass, nor any polar star, nor know the use of either, or those who have weathered the storm for ages past, and will for ages yet to come?

We speak not through ourselves on this great occasion; it is through being excited and animated by *electricity*, in full view of the awful events at this juncture of our *supposed* age of reason and common sense, that we have been enabled to trace and mark out the order of creation as it arose in the beginning, thereby giving man his organic law, and confirming the Constitution to have emanated by its creators from that law. In these days this may be treason; if it is, make the most of it, and let the world gaze at such a *monster* of fell treason and truth!

In the sixteenth century, during the age of Copernicus, it was a crime

to trace the works of God naturally and present such discoveries and conclusions to the public. It was by him that the vagaries, in the Ptolemy system of the universe, espoused and promulgated by Pythagoras, Aristotle, Plato, Hipparchus, Archimides, and others of their age of sense, were discovered to the world by his enlightened reason, in 1543, when the belief in the immobility of the earth, with the other planets, was universal. From his scientific researches into nature's laws, he established our present system of astronomy, called after himself "Copernican system." It was by this he taught that the planets then known to man revolved round the sun in the following order: Mercury, in 87 days; Venus, in 224; the Earth, in 365; Mars, in 1 year and 321 days; Jupiter, in 11 years; and Saturn in 29 years. This was discovered through mathematics in the same manner that our reason teaches us by the same science that two and two make four, not three, or by physiology and ethnology, that an African and Caucasian are two organic forms, as wheat and barley are, etc.

Galileo, an Italian philosopher, born at Pisa in the year 1564, adopted in the year 1632 the planetary system of Copernicus, and at this time published a work called "Dialogo di Galileo Galilei, dove ne due massimi Sistemi, Tolemaico et Copernicano." Scarcely had it appeared when it was attacked by the disciples of Aristotle. The Pope, Urban VIII., who, when a private man, had been the friend and admirer of Galileo, now became his severest persecutor. The Monks (a species of Abolitionists), had persuaded him that Galileo, in the person of Simplicio, had intended to ridicule his folly in suffering so offensive a book to be printed. It was no difficult task for his adversaries to inflict upon Galileo the severest treatment, especially as his patron Cosmo was dead, and the government at Florence was in the feeble hands of the young Ferdinand II. A congregation of cardinals, monks and mathematicians, all sworn enemies of Galileo, examined his work, condemned it as highly dangerous, and summoned him before the tribunal of the Inquisition. The veteran philosopher was compelled to go to Rome in the winter of 1633, languished some months in the prison of the Inquisition, and was finally condemned to renounce, in presence of an assembly of *ignorant monks*, like our Abolition clergy of Chicago, kneeling before them, with his hand upon the Gospel, the great truths he had maintained, under the penalty of being put slowly to death on the rack! Such depravity, such ignorance, such vicious conduct, such rebelling against the order of creation and against high heaven, we know of no clergy so capable of instigating and performing at the present day as the Abolition clergy of the free States, taking into view their ancestors in the Salem witchcraft, and their intolerant persecution of the Quakers and Catholics, during the early settlement of New England. The parallel between those ancient Monks and the modern Abolition clergy of the North and England is one and the same thing, so far as the latter have power, which we see demonstrated in all their political actions.

Specifications would be too numerous to mention; they are around us, and we can see them when we will.

When, in the course of human events, it may suit an omniscient Providence to let men with one idea gain power and bear rule for a time, as the present conjunctures of our national affairs present themselves to reasonable and candid minds, it is like unto Sodom and Gomorrah in raising up wicked and perverse actors before God and man in the form of ghosts, like the Abolition clergy of Chicago especially, and of the North generally, to announce to the world their pretended mediations with God, concerning *his* great organic law. We have seen *all this* in *specks of matter* called *men*, surnamed the Abolition clergy of Chicago, of Illinois. These men pretend to be true and faithful to the works of creation; and, endeavoring to put an African on an equality with a white man as citizen, with the privileges as such, they counteract the order of creation as much as if they should say corn was rye, or wheat was barley, etc., etc., through the process of production, and therefore should be respected as such in every point of view for food. It is evident to the most common understanding that such a position is false, and against the order of creation, and in the end will meet with the fate it so richly deserves. Yet, in the history of the nineteenth century, and in the age of presumed freedom of speech, and in the discussion of physical sciences, as based on the order of creation, and as applied to the government of man, we are to discover whether it will not compare with the dark periods of the seventeenth century, during the age of Galileo in Italy, when he was called upon by the authorities to renounce his philosophical truths, on the pain of death, which were discovered to the world by his enlightened reason! We venture all in defence of the order of creation, and of the Constitution, as indicated by the philosophy of reason and common sense! What more can men do to save a country from anarchy and confusion, from famine, desolation and death!

In review of the past history of the colonial and national growth of the American people, we see a sect persecuted in England because of their non-conformity to the established Church of that country, who could have conformed; for if the Church of England be a Christian Church, the object of it was for the good and salvation of all within its pale: consequently, it would have as well applied its teachings to those people, now denominated Pilgrim fathers, as to any in England in those days of the former's apostacy and withdrawal to the wild solitudes of America. These people, as a religious sect, have ever had one idea as to imposing their notions on others, with reference to religion and the most common plans of life. From their earliest settlement on Plymouth Rock, that cold, austere and uncongenial rock, persecution among those leading religionists has ever been their motto, with the will and spirit to make men living in other climes, more congenial to liberal notions of conscience, conform to their *cold austerity*. Place a Southern, Western, or a Middle State man in New

England to live there, and he feels imprisoned; this is natural; the climate on the temperament of individuals has a controlling influence, for the austere New Englander becomes more and more congenial in Louisiana and Texas, and if well educated, loses those narrow notions which govern his sordid appetite in New England; hence he becomes in his far removal from home more and more a man of the world, and thinks more of Government as based on God's organic law. If missionaries from the West and South were sent among those New Englanders to preach to them the order of creation, which they, there living alone and retired, except by commerce carried on by a few of the most liberal minds, are perverting, with the presumed desire of making themselves the chosen people of God, it would be far better than to send missionaries with money to the heathen *tribes* in Africa or Asia, for it would be illuminating *minds* at home, which labor in darkness, and be the happy means of blending more harmoniously distant parts of our social and governmental institutions. Though much mechanical, and some scientific good have sprung from a few of those people, yet in tracing the isms and persecutions which have visited the virgin soil of America, it is to those people and their immediate descendants who have given rise to the most of them. They detest men who will not conform to their notions of superstition, religion, fanaticism, and the like traits of character, revolting to the more perceptive and candid minds of this new continent. They, as Abolitionists, detest the order of creation, the Bible, and the Constitution, for these cut them short in their fanaticism and wild career; these are bulwarks which, with all their three thousand clergy imbued in cunning device, they cannot supplant. The constitutional and organic good men in *those States* we entertain the highest respect for, because they live there and are persecuted as we are persecuted; their repose and safety in society for differing in opinions now, like in the early settlements of those New England States, are threatened; and their persons, for these crimes alone, are liable, by some vicious spy, to be forced from their firesides, their wives and children, and be lodged in a distant prison, cold and unhealthy, without knowing the alleged causes of complaint, and without the possibility of a hearing.

This all is the sum total of fanaticism—that cunning, supplanting, dark, wicked, avaricious, deep-toned fanaticism, that will ever live on Plymouth Rock!

Oh, that such a **Rock** had been Scylla of yore,
 Isms of *such* would have been buried near the shore;
 Her barking whelps would have decoyed *them* from the main,
 And they would have mutinied, and slain each other like Cain!
 Hence, no war-cry would resound on our ear,
 But songs of peace, of joy, with the fruitful year,
 Would echo from shore to shore, without a fear,
 Without the insignia of tyranny drawing near.

Our object in this work is not to make ourselves known nor to distin-

guish ourselves through *notions* inconsistent with the natural organization of matter, which we see exemplified wherever we plant any of the products of the earth. For instance, we plant one kernel of corn, etc., throughout the whole inanimate products of nature, what do we see but from thirty to one hundred fold in repayment for our labor? and why does that which we plant return to us again, through a chemical process of nature, in an organized form, resembling its progenitor, and yielding thus? The order of creation, in part in the eleventh verse of the first chapter of Genesis, says: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth the grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth: and it was so." It is evident here that all seeds follow the order of creation, as above related, for we see no *will* in *them* to trespass on that order. But, the more and more we see of this *will*, as we depart from the vegetable kingdom and enter the animate, to vary from organic laws, because, mostly from the fact of locomotion having been given to the latter, which excites animate passions by seeing and commingling. The accretion of one kernel of corn from thirty to one hundred per cent. is a chemical process effected from the nature of the kernel combined with the action of the earth and the atmosphere. All over one kernel is so much exhaustion of matter from the earth and atmosphere, and on this principle, if there was no return of such grain to the earth by the processes we see going on daily, the earth would, in the course of time, become exhausted. The earth still produces inanimate life or substance for animate life rising and departing, in the same manner as inanimate life rises and departs to earth, to mold and come again to life in some new form. In all this there is an omniscient design to rotate matter, unformed, unwilled and unanimated, into organic form to carry out the wise *purposes* of creation. And though we survey the earth from pole to pole, and from the nether depths to the surface of the earth, do we gain light and knowledge from actual and present demonstrations and manifestations to inform us that there has been any change in the order of creation, in even a seed of mustard, with reference to form, size, color, and taste? if not in this, would God not show his inconsistency and want of purpose? if the colored *existences*, and man, at this date like to that of the mustard seed, did not now demonstrate and manifest the same faculties and properties in form, size, color and *taste*, as the seed already referred to? Each was made of matter, for each decomposes and returns to earth. Hence, in the order of creation, all inanimate and animate forms which we now behold had an *inceptive beginning*, for new organizations, varying in type from the original stocks or roots, indicate the work of chance or a perverse will, not of the *design* of God. We may find the wild apple and all other fruits, and plant their seeds, and by a process of planting and choosing the best each time, we may attain rare fruits in the process of generating; yet none of those fruits would lose their original types and names. It is thus throughout animate life, either in the lower or higher order of creation.

Notwithstanding their improvements, they are all forms resembling the original roots or types. Now, in conclusion, plant any of the kernels of grains or seeds of any of the products of the earth in a climate adapted to their growth; and, on the same principle, without the consideration of climate to be borne in mind, *plant* both sexes of the Mongolian type, Indian, Malay, African, or Caucasian, where you will at this juncture of time, in view of *this age of reason and common sense*, and what will be the consequences, either with reference to the inanimate or animate objects of creation thus planted? One of the most common understanding among these races, knowing no more than enough to plant corn, would naturally expect a return in kind of that which was planted. Therefore, could any couple male and female of those races expect offsprings like the *other colors*, in the event of the female being true to her spouse? What is *now* with reference to the functions of procreation, both in the inanimate and animate life, and each after his kind, was, says common sense, ten, fifty, two hundred, one thousand, and even four thousand years ago; and this being the case, as history demonstrates beyond refutation, to what date in the mutation of organic law shall we refer, in order to prove to our minds the *unity* of seeds producing grains for subsistence, fruits, and all inanimate products; the *unity* of the lower order of animate life and that of the higher? that we may adapt our notions to Abolitionists, Emancipationists and Republicans! For the sake of argument, we will take these *creatures* on their own ground, supposing for their *humanity* that they are *right* as to the *unity* of the *human* races, as they term it, *meaning* the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African and Caucasian. What is gained by this unity, and where can this unity stop? Would not the Bushman say he was neglected? would not the Papua, or native of Australia, say he was neglected? Hence, the gorilla, chimpanzee and gibbon would say that their reason was proximating the latter named, and why not include us? And thus *unity*, by the external figures, if not able to speak, would present subjects for consideration, commiseration and equality to the white man, if he did not, as we have proved he should, deny all connection with the inferior and subordinate existences of colors, on the same principle as corn denies all relationship with wheat, rye with barley, buckwheat with oats, a horse with an ox, an elephant with a camel, etc., etc., throughout the lower order of matter organized, and through a process of production. We can see no difference in any of the above cases, as not bordering the absurd and ridiculous! For we would ridicule a man to plant corn and expect barley; and we should also ridicule a Mongolian couple, male and female, to think of generating Caucasian offsprings; and thus *vice versa* with the other *bipeds* that we have so frequently impressed on the reader's mind. If there be a unity of the existences of colors, and man from *matter* on their *being organized*, and also of the grains, it would argue inconsistency in the creation, and that God had not in full view its wants and coming requirements; or that, if there should be *one*, in a single instance,

presenting a full type, as we see corn, barley, African, or Caucasian, derived from another, or others, we could not abstain from coming to the same conclusion, provided we should let common sense rule us in forming our conclusions from sight, smell, feeling, hearing and tasting.

If we foretell an eclipse of the sun or moon, or the shooting of a comet, who questions it? It is yielded to as based on the organic law in the revolving system of the universe; hence, from the same law we draw our conclusions as to various types in associated colors, which we see represented in inanimate and animate productions, distributed over the earth's surface, and who, on the same principle of reasoning, can question their forms, sizes, weights and colors, as they appear to us? Judge, these are parallel cases; while the former is wholly assented to, the latter case is assented to only in part from instruction and prejudice, not from reason nor the philosophy of thought.

Intelligence does not consist so much in the general reading and quoting of all *kinds* of books, as it does in the application of the philosophy of reading, reason, analogy and comparison to the organic law of creation. Therefore, how many so called well-read ladies and gentlemen that would, in passing the ordeal, pass for fools, and reverse the order of God's workmanship. To be intelligent, study and understand the organic law that governs the universe.

Henceforward, from the philosophy of slavery as based on God's organic law, according to the order of creation, be it known to all mankind in the true sense of this term, that Abolitionists, Emancipationists and Republicans are atheists and conspirators against that law, on which all others, constitutional or civil, should be founded. In this there is no presumption, for behold and read the order of creation as elucidated in this work. ere you act upon your judgments. We fear not *reason*, but we do fear the *brute*!

The flag of the United States was designed and adopted by our National Government as a symbol of protection, in foreign countries and on the high seas, of the citizens of said States, with or without their property being with them. This is assented to in view of international law, by all nations, on principles of reciprocity. Among nations having a peaceful policy in view, there is no dodging the fact of protection which the flag exercises over the persons and property of citizens of any nationality. Hence, this being an undeniable axiom as to the flag, let us examine clause 1, section 2, article 4, of the United States Constitution, which says: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The title of citizen of the United States is like the flag of the United States: the latter protects the person and property of the citizen on the sea and in foreign countries; then upon the same principle of reasoning, that title protects the person and property, of *whatever kind*, of a citizen within the whole limits of the United States, as the person of the citizen is passing *in transitu* with his property, of what-

ever kind, as in the case of being on the high sea with property under the national flag, or in a foreign country. If a desire is manifested in the latter case to sojourn for a season, for the purpose of trade, the purchase of goods, or the promotion of health, the comity of nations grants the desire; hence, on the same principle of reasoning, could not the comity of the States, in the former case, be constitutionally demanded according to the spirit of the above clause? The person of the citizen with certain property, either *in transitu*, or sojourning for a season within the limits of the United States, is as sacred as the ship with property under the flag. Therefore, can States or nations pass laws making them constitutionally and internationally valid, which distinguishes and decides in favor of the flag, and in opposition to the title of citizen? Hence, could the free States or the British Empire set a Southerner's negro free while *in transitu* or sojourning for a season, except governed by unconstitutional and uninternational impulses?

Horace Greeley, in the spring of 1841, on commencing the publication of the New York Tribune, announced his purpose to be "to educate a generation at the North to hate the slaveholding South." Extract from the Cincinnati Enquirer, Dec. 18, 1862. The fiend has done it, and his work is before the American people in the form of slaughtered thousands of men, who have left widows and orphans in penury and beggary, and without consolation except in the cold embrace of a thoughtless people. Hence, what crime has he, with his cohorts, not committed, and had they a million lives, could their execution atone for such? More despicable wretches than Greeley and Beecher God never made, for behold their crimes in the carnage of our country, the effect of atheism. Stevens, Lovejoy, Fessenden, Sumner and Hickman, with thousands of less satellites, are noted and distinguished *pimps* to Greeley's course of action. The public acts of men we deal with, not with their private acts, for in the former we have a general constitutional interest. *Don Bates*, Attorney-General of the United States, arose from the West, and said unto us plebians, "I am your Lord Interpreter of your laws and constitutions, both State and United States. I tell *you* from history and the Roman civil law that all races, without distinction of color, were citizens, (meaning among the white nations); consequently negroes are citizens of the United States of North America." From this *most learned opinion*, in view of the United States Constitution, this *man Bates* should be admitted to practice law, and especially Constitutional law, at the bar; he would be chaff for men of common sense. More than two-thirds of the States adopting the Constitution shortly after its formation, were slave States without law, State-Constitutional or statutory, that gave a negro the right of citizenship. And even if any did, it was yielded on the adoption of the Constitution. Let us see clause 1, section 2, article 4, of the Constitution, which says that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Therefore, if a negro should be a

citizen of any of the free States in view of their law being constitutional, he would be entitled to the same in the slave States; he was not so in the slave States before the adoption of the United States Constitution, nor has he become so in any respect in the slave States since that adoption by changes in their Constitutions. The slave States defined his position in society before the adoption of the United States Constitution, and these States being the creators of the Constitution, adopted the above clause as we see it quoted. Otherwise, the slave States have ever acted unconstitutionally with most of the free States, as to declaring the negro not a citizen of the United States. If he were a citizen according to the letter and spirit of the United States Constitution, and lived in any of the free States, exercising such privileges, he could, on going to any of the slave States, demand the same before the United States courts, notwithstanding the slave States' Constitutions and laws were against his citizenship, and have it enforced, "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Consequently, if a citizen in one State, he is in another; therefore Bates' *interpretation* makes the negro a white man. What law is there in any State forbidding a male citizen from marrying a female citizen? See clause 1, section 2, article 4, of the Constitution. Most of the States forbid the marriage of whites to *existences of colors*, for sound reasons. Is Bates not guilty of perjury, with the above *clause* in view? as he is sworn to give his opinion based on the Constitution. As physiologists and ethnologists, we have proved fully all that we set out to prove in the second part of this work, which we defy the most astute and learned men of this age to refute, basing their reasonings and deductions upon the natural history of the Bible, extending from the first to the eleventh chapter of Genesis. Such will have to resort to the "Higher Law" system.

In this work, our great efforts have been to develop, to minds unprejudiced, the broad and liberal principles of Constitutional liberty and the physical sciences, pertaining to existences of colors, to-wit: the African, Malay, Indian, and Mongolian, with man last, the Caucasian, to serve as their ruler; therefore, we stand not in awe of the philosophy of reason, nor of a prison cell. Facts will be facts, though rebel atheists read and comment on them. They will yet be *pillars of light*, by which we shall guide the ship of State.

In the philosophy of reasoning by analogy and comparison, upon that which strikes our sight, there is an intense pleasure. In every aspect we behold the complete workmanship of a great First Cause, "least understood," yet oft expressed! The philosophy of reason* unfolds the why of the great theater of the universe; we behold the sun and moon; we know their properties and the design of God in their creation. If there was no *design* in the sun to perform the functions which we see by experience he is adapted to, his creation would have been complete, if he had been the moon, a star, a comet! If there had been no *design* in the properties of

* Philosophy of reason is an investigation into the causes and effects of the order of creation, as it presents itself to our understandings.

coal or wood, when ignited by friction, it would have been as well that coal and wood had been ice. If there had been no design in our five senses, we should not feel the loss of any one of them. In this respect, see the care God had in our creation and preservation. If we had no feeling, we might be burnt up when asleep and be insensible of pain; and thus we see a wise design in all our senses. We behold the whole face of nature—its mountains and valleys, fountains and rivers, the mineral, vegetable, and animal, kingdoms, and in every point of view, from the least to the greatest, we trace the immutable organic law of God, in every design, fully completed. The vast ocean is not without its purpose; it serves for commerce, and is the natural thoroughfare for all nations; it abounds in food for man; and the wind from the ocean repels the pestilential malarial on the coast to the mountain heights, uninhabited. Volcanoes are the natural vents of the gasses embosomed in the earth; they are intruders on the vast ocean, as islands are constantly rising from the deep, here and there, designed in the process of time for continents. In these, there is grandeur in their contemplation, especially in descending within the crater to the liquid elements, and in beholding on the opposite side the boiling, red-hot, molten lava, ejected full five hundred feet above the summit of the crater, while one stands full twenty feet out from the nether edge of this liquid, fearful abyss, on staging made fast, to see the whole amphitheater of the gasses below, in most awful yet natural commotion! Such sights of God's design we have contemplated with interest, rapture and reverence, both on the islands of the Pacific and the continent of America. Like Abolitionists that would supplant God's organic law, to ride on the billow of fancy, show, and state, in order to display their *philosophy of reason supreme*, and even *God-like*, oft have we seen less guarded ones, in gay and fashionable circles, on festive occasions, let sit, in some obscure corner, unseen, like invited butts, in the form of some old brooding *hens* or *stuffed pigs*, souls of rare refinement and philosophy of thought, whole nights unspecially approached or introduced, though jeering jests cast at the *movement* of some *muscle*, that sits rebelling against a giddy and thoughtless crowd! Thus wags the world in the *philosophy of reason*, and of a due *sense of propriety*! Reserved, diffident, and unvindictive, except touched by some poisoned arrow, we are content to plead the arts of peace in nature's work, letting those, without reflection, run the giddy round of soulless mirth and wanton thought. In all such cases where preferences are given, they should be invariably awarded to the Dutch, English, and French, in order to cap the sublimity of that philosophy.

Thus in all of God's great *workmanship* we see his *design* for man, in culminating for his general good; and in this philosophy of reason we feel to return to thee, O God, our deepest gratitude, for the benefit of mankind.

In view of the physiological and ethnological features of this work, as based on organic law, we feel ready and willing to present it to an inquir-

ing and *inquisitive* public, not doubting that we might have said much more in support of slavery from that eternal law which governs all matter; but for this time and this occasion, our developiments and reasonings have been aimed to culminate in such form, as to give the reader a panorama of the organization of matter in the beginning of all things, regardless of man or of consequences, but with one general, absorbing desire, to make or cause man to understand the order of creation, and the obligations of man on earth, to everything created inferior and subordinate to him, consequently to make him feel more dependent on his Creator's will.

In this dissertation throughout, feeling that we have discharged our duty to God and man, and have opened the vista, in order to discharge our duties to *existences of colors*, bearing in view this philosophy of slavery, as founded upon the order of creation and of the Constitution, we shall take a long farewell of you, our countrymen, hoping that we shall not have labored *in vain*!

If the principles which we would suggest, on application of certain high officials, should be *fully and honestly carried out*, in six months from their full acceptance by such officials, we will guarantee peace and a restoration of the Union of the United States, as the evident result of reason and common sense, To the *Cæsars*, twenty-eight States can pay tribute no longer! If this be treason, make the most of such. In the adoption of the Constitution we were *supposed* to be *equals*. We do not desire woman nor man worshipers to give us credit for writing, except as men should write, in view of the order of creation; we have set out to do good; and by the *Eternal*, we will do it, in defiance of the *devil*, and in obedience to our Creator! Ye Abolition atheists! be careful of your ammunition; we have visited the sulphuric beds of volcanic mountains; our ammunition will never fail; it is multiplying!

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ADDENDA.

WHEAT'S PHILOSOPHY OF SLAVERY.

In the month of February, 1863, this work appeared from the Louisville Press; and among intelligent men, who look back to the great organic law to see in it the organic causes which, in all ages, have given rise to effects, it has received a liberal patronage. This system of treating of slavery is novel, and it is unlike that of other authors upon the same subject. The work is divided into three parts: The first part treats of the intelligence and progress of Americans: of the American colonies; of their choice of laborers; of their natural discernment of the physical condition of those destined to serve them in obedience to organic law; of the introduction of Africans by the Dutch as slaves; of the Indian lands being common property to the new Discoverers; of the motives of those forming settlements in America; of the Divine Right of the Europeans to the wild lands of America, though inhabited by Indians; of slavery in the old countries; of the slavery of the colored races as being natural; of the treatment of slaves; of the missionary spirit of the slave-holders; of the imitation of slaves, in point of religious culture, to their masters; of constitutional law, and of the interpretation of constitutional terms: of the President's September Proclamation; of its effects being likened to the merciless Raid of the Blacks of San Domingo in the year 1791.

The second part treats naturally, physiologically, ethnologically, and organically, of all subordinate and inferior organized bodies to man, both in the inanimate and animate kingdom, showing that all matter before the order of creation was begun, was nothing but chaos; thereby proving the design of God as he advanced class by class in the order of his creation. Seeds and the growth from them were created before animals were, which would necessarily have to feed on them. Therefore, inanimates are inferior to animates.

In the creation there is a link between the vegetable and the animal creation, as in the sensitive plant and the polypus. From the latter to man, the Caucasian Ruler, we trace through the natural sciences the formation of distinct classes made out of matter, with powers of reproduction, resembling themselves, rising step by step in their physiognomies till we

arrive at the organization of matter into bodies resembling that of man. In each class there is no relation except from matter unorganized, as when first in common. The first chapter of Genesis is adduced to prove the creation of the inanimates and animates below man, to have taken place first, that is, before man. This we gather from the 11, 20, 24, 26, and 28 verses of the first chapter of Genesis.

The grades of bipeds below man, and having resemblance to man, are the Mongolian, Indian, Malay, African, Gorilla, &c., the latter of which can walk erect, nearly as well as on all fours. Proof of the former having been created first, that is, before man, is in the fourth chapter of Genesis, from the fact of Cain's taking a wife in the land of Nod, and his building a city there called Enoch immediately after his slaying Abel, in the land of Eden, and his banishment from this land and from the presence, the light, and glory of God. This fact antedates the inhabitants of the land of Nod to Adam and Eve, making them either Mongolians or Malays. Thus we see the great design of God in his specific creation, and we feel, or should feel to be grateful to him, that he has blessed us with knowledge and penetration enough to fathom his great order and appeal to man to come up to it, and not forsake it, else we should return to anarchy and chaos. As a nation and a people, we see the substantial sources of our wealth; it is in the bones, sinews, and muscles of those races whom God created to be subordinate. The people of the Great West have been raised from poverty to opulence by those sinews and muscles, either directly or indirectly. If one part of the subordinate creation were formed for man to till the land with, as the horse, the ox, the ass, God could not have done less than have made counter-parts to have controlled in the fields, that subordinate creation.

Such terms as we see in the Holy Writ as "flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood," and "my beloved son," indicate and prove beyond disputation the high origin of the Caucasian man, in view of these expressions having emanated from the great Creator, in speaking to man. They prove the relation by the flesh, by the blood, and by Christ who was the son of God, and born of a Caucasian mother; if God was not nor is not Caucasian, how could Christ have been fully and entirely Caucasian? Reason and then act in view of the letter and spirit of the order of nature; and if God rules all, man, the Caucasian man, is God's vicegerent from his relationship to Christ and our Creator who rule; or the words in the Bible are empty sounds and mock man when he seeks it for his guidance.

This work we present to the public as one based on nature, therefore, in the delineations and expressions, it views and exposes all kinds of organized matter, from the meanest insect or the most inanimate, to man. We enter into it, feeling full confidence in the views and sentiments of an enlightened and reasonable public, that we shall not have departed in the least from the path of a naturalist, in our researches into the organic

laws, that cause and rotate inanimate and animate existence. We are not aware that we use indecorous terms or those not used in the Bible, in the works of Buffon, Cuvier, Goldsmith, and other naturalists; but we are aware that we have not used the *impassioned eloquence*, enraptured sentiments and terms which are commonly in Byron and Shakespeare's works, or in novels that sigh for sympathy and passion, which abound on the center tables of the elite. It is not mock modesty to know ourselves; but it is a blushing disgrace to this age of reason and common sense that we do not study more nature's laws, and less the artifice of deceit and low cunning.

The third part of the Work treats of the Acquisition of Territory in Mexico and Central America, together with their climates, soils, productions, and their adaptability to slave labor, showing the advantages of working slaves there over those of holding slaves in the Northern slave States of the United States. Consequently, instead of abolishing slavery, in the event of taking Mexico and Central America under our Protectorate, and of opening them up to the introduction of slavery, the institution of slavery would regulate itself like money, in finding the best market, and would move South and Southwest with rapid strides, without producing a jar in our great social compact.

M. T. WHEAT.

